



French soldiers land from a helicopter in Beirut port yesterday.

(UPI telephoto)

U.S. troops await Israeli pullout French, Italian units land in Beirut, take up positions

BEIRUT. — The last units of the French and Italian contingents of the peace-keeping Multinational Force arrived in Beirut yesterday, while U.S. Marines continued to wait offshore for the departure of Israeli forces from West Beirut before landing.

French troops again moved into the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps, where the September 16-18 massacre occurred. But French officials said the soldiers were only clearing mines and had not been deployed in the area.

Antonio Bandini, the Italian consul, said some Italian troops had also gone to the camps, but it was not clear what their mission was. At the camps, hundreds of relatives of the massacre victims gathered at a mass grave where many of the dead are buried to pray during a ceremony marking the Muslim Id al-Adha feast.

The Multinational Force (MNF), whose task is to protect civilians following the massacre, started arriving four days ago, but refused to deploy until the Israelis left West Beirut.

The Israelis pulled out on Sunday from all points except the airport and seaport, after which Western diplomats said the French and Italians decided to move into position.

By midday, two truckloads of French troops had spread out searching for mines in the Shatila camp, where a mechanical digger was turning over the rubble of half-demolished houses in search of more bodies from the massacres — blamed by survivors on rightist Lebanese militiamen.

Along a main road near the camp, Italian marines carrying recoilless rifles waited in armoured personnel carriers and trucks, ready to move into positions guarding the area south of Shatila and the adjoining Sabra camp.

Lebanese President Amin Jemayel, who asked for French and Italian troops around the camps as "protection for the people there" was reported yesterday planning a trip to Europe and the U.S. to drum up support for an independent Lebanon.

The Beirut newspaper *Al-Nahar*

said Jemayel wanted to address the UN in New York and the trip could include stop-overs in Washington. In Rome and Paris he plans to see the pope and French President Francois Mitterrand.

In Washington, Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger also said on Sunday that he expected a mid-week deal on Israeli withdrawal.

Weinberger warned, however, that Israel's insistence on retaining a presence at the airport and having access to the whole of Beirut were outstanding points of disagreement.

At the airport, Lebanese soldiers who control the terminal building and the approach roads said about 100 transport planes and helicopters had been ferrying Israeli troops and equipment south throughout Sunday night.

Gangs of workmen were clearing the terminal and the taxiing apron 500 metres from the emergency services depot where the Israelis are based. Airport officials said one runway was already serviceable and the other needed only minor repairs to bomb craters. (AP, UPI)

IDF plans to vacate W. Beirut tomorrow

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

The Israel Defence Forces said last night that its evacuation of West Beirut will be completed tomorrow. Eventually, the army is scheduled to evacuate various sectors of East Beirut as well. It will be deployed along the Beirut-Damascus highway.

IDF spokesmen in Beirut had told *The Jerusalem Post* last week that they expected the withdrawal from West Beirut to be completed by Sunday. Asked last night why the date had been postponed, a source said it was due to "politics" but would not elaborate. The IDF spokesman in Tel Aviv would not explain.

According to the spokesman, Israel had already vacated the area north of the Corniche Mazraa boulevard, which runs from the Hippodrome to the sea. Tanks and armoured personnel carriers which were seen at Ras Beirut last week are reportedly no longer there.

The Israeli presence in the Muslim-dominated sector is already small. Lebanese and French troops are in and around the Sabra, Shatila and Fakhani refugee camps and the Hippodrome, and there seems little else to vacate.

The area to be handed over by tomorrow includes points held by Israel before it penetrated West Beirut after the assassination of president-elect Bashir Jemayel.

The IDF is also expected to withdraw its roadblock at the Galerie Semaan crossing point. Last week, this reporter saw several M-113 armoured troop carriers at the entrance to a grey unfinished building there, near a Lebanese Army roadblock.

Israel is also expected to hand over the international airport. The IDF quoted representatives of the Lebanese government as saying that they will try to re-activate it shortly. Talks are expected on an arrangement whereby the IDF will be able to continue using the airport and (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Wide-ranging probe into Beirut tragedy Cabinet today due to opt for judicial inquiry

By DAVID LANDAU
and SARAH HONIG

The cabinet is expected to decide this morning on the establishment of a full-fledged judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the Beirut massacre. A source close to Prime Minister Menachem Begin said the premier himself would propose the commission.

Other high-level government sources stressed that the commission would be empowered to investigate the conduct of both the army and the civilian authorities — i.e. the minister of defence and the cabinet itself — in the events surrounding the massacre.

The Commissions of Inquiry Law of 1968 lays down that the cabinet, which is the body empowered to appoint a judicial commission, is also the body which prescribes its terms of reference. Opposition leaders, among them constitutional-law expert Amnon Rubinstein, the Shinui leader, warned publicly over the weekend against limiting the commission's terms of reference to the army only.

The cabinet's expected move today follows a series of cabinet decisions after the massacre which were widely interpreted as seeking to ward off a judicial commission of inquiry.

On September 19, the day after the massacre, the cabinet met and issued a statement asserting that a "blood libel is being spun against Israel and its army. In a place where the IDF was not deployed, a Lebanese unit entered an area where terrorists hid, to apprehend them. This unit attacked civilians and caused heavy casualties among them. The IDF, as soon as it became aware of what was hap-

pening, intervened..." There was no mention of an inquiry — although many demands for one had already been voiced.

On September 21, the cabinet — by now under severe pressure at home and abroad to set up an inquiry — announced that it would "deliberate upon the suitable way to examine the facts" surrounding the massacre. Cabinet secretary Dan Meridor, under strenuous questioning by newsmen, refused to say that there was a decision-in-principle to hold an inquiry. "I am not authorized to say so," he explained.

On September 22 a decision-in-principle was in effect announced by Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, after a day of near-crisis within the coalition.

Two coalition partners, the National Religious Party and Tami, had threatened to abstain or vote against the government on an opposition motion demanding a commission of inquiry, unless the prime minister pledged to set up a credible investigation within a reasonable time. Begin gave the pledge and Nissim articulated it from the podium.

On September 24, the cabinet met once again in special session and decided on a non-statutory examination. Nissim was sent to ask the president of the Supreme Court, Justice Yitzhak Kahan, to be the examiner or the head of a panel of three examiners. The proposed examining body would not have the powers vested in a judicial commission by the law.

Kahan, however, refused to consider the cabinet's request. He said it was virtually *sub judice*, since the High Court of Justice that same morning had issued an order requiring the government to show

cause why it was not setting up a full-fledged statutory judicial commission.

There is speculation in Jerusalem that Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir would have refused to represent the government in such a hearing, and would rather have resigned.

Last week, in reaction to Justice Kahan's answer, three ministers — the NRP's Yosef Burg, Tami's Aharon Uzzan and Mordechai Ben-Porat — announced publicly that they would demand at today's cabinet meeting the creation of a statutory commission without further delay.

It is against this backdrop that Begin will today preempt the three ministers and table the proposal himself. Government sources said the cabinet might not discuss the detailed terms of reference today, but would probably prefer to take counsel from the attorney-general first.

A source close to Begin denied to *The Jerusalem Post* that Begin's proposal today was the result of political pressure. The source stressed that Begin had favoured an investigation from the outset.

The premier had said so, according to the source, when he met with President Yitzhak Navon to discuss the Beirut murders on the morning of September 20, and he had spoken in the same vein when he met with NRP leaders a few hours later.

There was never any cabinet decision against an investigation, the source added.

The decision last Friday to set up a non-statutory investigation had followed consultations among the ministers and all the coalition factions, the sources continued.

The source close to Begin accused the Alignment of (Continued on page 2, Col. 7)

U.S. 'encouraged' by pace of departure

WASHINGTON (UPI). — President Ronald Reagan's spokesman said yesterday that West Beirut is "primarily under the control" of the Lebanese government and the U.S. is "encouraged by the progress" being made on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the capital.

U.S. marines, numbering about 1,200, are now expected to land in Lebanon tomorrow.

"We expect the Israeli Defence Forces to be out of Beirut by mid-week, including the airport area," said deputy press secretary Larry Speakes. "No [Israeli] force of any military significance is expected to

remain in the airport area," he added.

Speakes said details of the deployment of the marines in Beirut are still being worked out with the Lebanese and Israeli governments.

Speakes said U.S. special envoy Philip Habib is currently in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, where he arrived yesterday from Jordan. His deputy, Morris Draper, is in Beirut, discussing the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

He said Habib, who recently met with King Hussein in Jordan, is discussing the "outlook for withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and Reagan's peace plan" with

Middle East leaders.

Speakes reiterated that there will be no significant U.S. military presence at Beirut airport.

Earlier, Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger said in a television interview that Israeli troops must be out of all of Beirut before the marines would enter the city. Yom Kippur has delayed the second entry of the marines into Beirut, but officials believe agreement can be reached within a couple of days.

Weinberger said that once the Israeli troops are out of Beirut, the American contingent of the multinational force will join French and Italian troops already there.

Jemayel: Peace pact 'up to the people'

Jerusalem Post Staff
and agencies

Lebanese President Amin Jemayel said on Sunday that the question of peace with Israel would be decided not by himself but by the Lebanese government — and would have to be "approved by the people."

Responding to a question in an interview broadcast on the American ABC TV network, Jemayel said he was "against an artificial peace treaty" with Israel. However, he added that he was "for real peace, for peace with all countries."

Speaking in English, Jemayel said

he was hopeful that all foreign forces would withdraw from Lebanon "within a few weeks" and that the first step would then be "to reconstruct Beirut, our capital, which is now occupied land."

U.S. President Ronald Reagan "is now trying to help obtain the withdrawal. We appreciate the president's help through his special representative Philip Habib, and hope he will continue this help," Jemayel said.

The Christian Phalange militia would disarm as soon as the reason for their taking up arms disappears, he said, adding that they had armed

themselves because "they reacted to the Palestinian presence."

The Lebanese Army alone "will be the protector of Lebanon, Christian and Muslim alike. We will try to forget this black page in history," the president said.

His brother Bashir Jemayel's assassination "is behind us now," Jemayel added. "We want to look to the future."

He denied that any Lebanese forces were involved in the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut and said an investigation was under way to find out exactly what had happened.

Schmidt stronger as Hesse vote ousts FDP from state parliament

BONN (AP). — Nine days after the collapse of his coalition government in Bonn, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt on Sunday got a sensational boost from voters in the state of Hesse.

Schmidt's Social Democrats (SPD), campaigning on the slogan that "Helmut Schmidt must stay chancellor," made an unexpectedly strong showing in the Hesse state elections, robbing the Conservative Christian Democrats (CDU) of a predicted absolute majority and pushing the Free Democrats (FDP), who deserted the Bonn coalition on September 17, out of the Hesse state parliament.

The results cast doubt on Conservative and Liberal claims of a "new majority" for their plan to unseat Schmidt in a parliamentary vote of no-confidence in Bonn on Friday. But leaders of both parties said they would continue with their plans to form a new coalition and oust Schmidt.



A jubilant Helmut Boerner, Social Democratic head of Hesse state, enters the Hesse parliament election centre in Wiesbaden yesterday after hearing of his party's good show. (UPI telephoto)

Official results showed the SPD with 42.8 per cent of the vote and 49 seats, below their 44.3 per cent and 50 seats in the last state elections in 1978, but well above polls that forecast a 30 to 35 per cent showing before the coalition crisis erupted in Bonn.

The conservative CDU polled 45.6 per cent — against 46 per cent in 1978 — and the radical environmentalist Greens 8 per cent, putting them in the Hesse parliament for the first time and leaving them holding the balance of power in the state.

This gave the CDU 52 seats in the new state parliament and the Greens nine. Before Sunday, the CDU had 53 and the Free Democrats seven.

The FDP polled 3.1 per cent, well below the 5 per cent required for parliamentary representation and the 6.6 per cent it polled in 1978 in Hesse. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Woman killed at demonstration near Nazareth

NAZARETH (Itim). — A 20-year-old woman was killed and an eight-year-old boy wounded in the course of a demonstration in Nazareth during the Beirut massacre.

Some 500 demonstrators began the protest march after morning prayers. They heard anti-Israeli speeches and carried black flags and PLO banners.

The demonstrators halted in front of the home of a person believed to be "cooperating with the authorities" and began to pelt it with stones and to throw burning tires. During the attack, shots were fired from the house, killing the woman and wounding the boy. Police arrested the head of the household and 13 demonstrators, and are investigating the incident.

Shultz urges extension for UNIFIL force

UNITED NATIONS (UPI). — U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz yesterday told UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar that the U.S. would like to see the mandate of the UN military force in Lebanon extended by two months.

In a courtesy call on the Secretary-General, Shultz, according to his spokesman, "expressed hopes that the mandate be extended by two months" beyond the October 19 deadline for the UN International Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

A senior State Department official told reporters last Friday that the U.S. would like to see the force expanded and be given a wider geographical mandate.

The UNIFIL force now consists of 7,000 men who are restricted to small areas.

Terrorist bazookas fire on eastern front

IDF troops near Kafr Amik and Yanta in the eastern sector of Lebanon came under bazooka and light-arm fire on Sunday night but suffered no casualties, the IDF spokesman reported yesterday.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

28.9.1982

	MIN.	MAX.	WIND	CL.
AMSTERDAM	10	16	11	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	10	16	11	Cloudy
RUHRGARD	10	16	11	Cloudy
CHICAGO	10	16	11	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	10	16	11	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	10	16	11	Cloudy
GENEVA	10	16	11	Cloudy
HELSINKI	10	16	11	Cloudy
HONG KONG	25	27	28	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	12	24	26	Clear
LONDON	10	16	11	Cloudy
MADRID	10	16	11	Cloudy
MONTREAL	10	16	11	Cloudy
NEW YORK	10	16	11	Cloudy
OSLO	10	16	11	Cloudy
PARIS	10	16	11	Cloudy
RUHRGARD	10	16	11	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	10	16	11	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	10	16	11	Cloudy
TORONTO	10	16	11	Cloudy
VISNINA	10	16	11	Cloudy
ZURICH	10	16	11	Cloudy

For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.

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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Today's	Max	Min
Jerusalem	47	15-25	25	15
Golan	45	16-26	26	16
Nahariya	57	18-29	29	18
Safad	54	15-24	24	15
Haifa Port	59	23-28	28	23
Tiberias	—	19-32	32	19
Nazareth	—	—	—	—
Afula	51	18-30	30	18
Shomron	55	18-26	26	18
Tel Aviv	65	20-28	28	20
B-G Airport	52	19-29	29	19
Jericho	40	19-33	33	19
Gaza	53	20-28	28	20
BeerSheva	55	16-30	30	16
Eilat	24	23-35	35	23

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Prof. Paul Zoll of the Harvard University Medical School will deliver the Master Lecture sponsored by the American Physicians Fellowship on the topic "External Cardiac Pacemakers" tomorrow at 8 p.m. at the Jerusalem Academy of Medicine, Beit Harofe, Prophets Street.

Army officer selected to replace Milson

RAMALLAH (Iim). — Aluf-mishne Yigal Carmon was yesterday appointed acting head of the civil administration in Judea and Samaria, replacing Menachem Milson. Milson resigned last week in protest against the government's refusal to set up a committee to investigate the Beirut massacre.

Marches in West Bank

NABLUS (Iim). — Mourning processions and demonstrations were held in many places in the West Bank yesterday to protest the massacre in Beirut.

Begin at Yom Kippur War memorial today

A memorial ceremony for IDF soldiers who fell in the Yom Kippur War will be held today at 1 p.m. at Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem, with the participation of Prime Minister Begin.

SCHMIDT

(Continued from Page One)

Voter turnout was 86.3 per cent, against 87.7 per cent in 1978.

State CDU leader Alfred Dregger, trying for the fourth time to seize power in Hesse, called the results "a defeat for the Hesse CDU, for the whole CDU and for me personally."

He said he would resign his position as state chairman and said it was "necessary" to discuss the CDU's next moves nationally.

Chancellor Schmidt, buoyed by the results, yesterday again advocated a quick national election to see if West Germans want him to remain in office.

In a new effort to widen the split in the Free Democrats caused by Genscher's defection from the coalition, Social Democratic leader Willy Brandt repeated his offer to form a new coalition with Free Democrats opposed to Genscher's anti-Schmidt policy.

Brandt has expressed doubt that enough of the 53 Free Democrats in the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament, would vote with the Christian Democrats to give them the necessary 249 votes on Friday to replace Schmidt with Christian Democratic leader Helmut Kohl.

Edmund Stoiber, the general secretary of the powerful Bavarian branch of the Christian Democrats, appeared to share the doubts.

Although only 23 of the 53 Free Democratic votes were needed to overthrow Schmidt, Stoiber said he wanted 40 vote pledges to make sure Kohl will win.

HOME AND WORLD NEWS

Navon: Crisis proves Israeli moral strength

"The very fact that a moral issue has blown up a storm in Israel is evidence for the character of the State of Israel and a mark of honour," President Yitzhak Navon said on Sunday in an interview to the two largest French television networks.

Navon said it was "ridiculous that no one in the Arab countries and in many other nations is pointing an accusing finger at the perpetrators of the dastardly crime," although their identity is well-known. Instead they accuse Israel, he said.

"We know that no Israeli soldier committed murder. The Phalangists, the Palestinians and the Lebanese left have been massacring each other for the past eight years. But the difference is that this time we were there and allowed the Phalangists into the Palestinian camps," the president said.

In an unprecedented eve of Yom Kippur debate, the Board of Deputies of British Jews unanimously called for the perpetrators of the Beirut massacre to be brought swiftly to justice and welcomed the Israeli government's pledge to set up an official inquiry.

But the board, which represents the 400,000 strong British Jewish community, was split down the middle in its attitude towards the policies of the Israeli government. Repeated calls were made for the resignation of Prime Minister

Menachem Begin. Defence Minister Ariel Sharon or even the entire government. Begin's supporters, on the other hand accused his critics of being "trembling Israelis" and of allying themselves with Israel's enemies.

Two U.S. Presbyterian leaders yesterday called for an immediate halt to all U.S. military and economic aid to Israel. In a letter to President Ronald Reagan, James Costen, moderator of the United Presbyterian Church, and William Thompson, the church's chief administrator, accused the Israeli government of acting "as if Israeli interests alone are paramount to world concerns."

They added that "because Israel is so heavily supported both militarily and economically... there comes a time when our government must act to preserve its own moral integrity and demonstrate its own concern for world peace."

The West German news magazine Stern wrote on Monday that Israeli forces in Lebanon actively supported the Phalangists in preparing their attack on the refugee camps.

In Vienna, a conference sponsored by the pro-communist World Peace Council called on Sunday for the creation of an international tribunal to "judge the criminals guilty of aggression and genocide."

Eitan to Defence College chief: Stay at job or quit

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT Post Defence Reporter

Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan has ordered Rav-Aluf Amram Mizna to get back to work or resign, rejecting Mizna's request for a leave on the grounds that he had lost confidence in Defence Minister Ariel Sharon.

Mizna heads the IDF's Staff and Command College and during the war in Lebanon served as deputy to Aluf Avigdor Ben-Gal who was a commander in the eastern front.

Eitan's rejection came after a

meeting, reported to be frosty, between Mizna and Sharon on Friday. A statement issued by the IDF spokesman on Sunday quoted Eitan as saying: "It is unthinkable that an officer serving in the armed forces of a democratic state will involve himself in appointments and dismissals of ministers."

Meanwhile members of Kibbutz Ein Gev, where Mizna lives, told Israel Television that Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori and many IDF officers had phoned Mizna yesterday asking him to resume his duties.

Lahat robbed in New York

TEL AVIV. — Mayor Shlomo Lahat was robbed on Yom Kippur eve in New York, where he is on a mission for the UJA and the Development Foundation of Tel Aviv.

A Tel Aviv city spokesman told The Jerusalem Post that Lahat, his wife and foundation head Hanan Ben-Yehuda were walking back to

their hotel after attending Yom Kippur services when they were accosted by four men with pistols and knives.

The thieves took \$150 in cash, two credit cards, watches and jewelry.

Lahat complained to police, who later caught one of the thieves.

Ambulance runs over child on Yom Kippur

TEL AVIV (Iim). — A four-year-old child was run over and killed by an ambulance on Yom Kippur.

Exra Muchtavi was struck at Derech Jabotinsky near the Geha junction. The driver of the ambulance, which was on the way to Beilinson Hospital, is being held pending a police investigation.

Local cars in Lebanon to need extra insurance

TEL AVIV. — Civilians taking vehicles to Lebanon after October 1, will have to pay the additional insurance needed for vehicles being taken abroad, the Israeli Insurance Union announced on Sunday.

Until now, Israeli civilian vehicles in Lebanon with IDF permission were covered by insurance without additional payment. Those without army endorsement required extra insurance.

Sound and light show at Masada next week

BEERSHEBA. — A sound and light spectacle on Masada, organized by the Government Information Centre, will be presented during the Succot festival next week.

The show will tell the story of the Masada defenders who committed suicide rather than surrender to the Romans in 73 BCE.

The performance will be only in Hebrew. The Centre's director, Asher Dishon, told The Jerusalem Post that if enough English-speakers contact him, he might be able to persuade the Tourism Ministry to provide a budget for an English language show.

Kenya military court jails 8 for mutiny

NAIROBI (UPI). — A court martial yesterday sentenced eight more Kenya air force privates to jail terms of 12 to 18 years for their role in the August 1 coup bid.

All the soldiers pleaded guilty to mutiny. Their sentencing brings the total number of armed forces men jailed since the courts martial began two weeks ago to 74, although all convictions and sentences are subject to confirmation.

One private was jailed for 18 years, one for 17 years, three received 16 year terms, one was jailed for 15 years, one for 14 years, and one for 12 years.

Stephanie of Monaco released from hospital

MONTE CARLO. (AP). — Princess Stephanie of Monaco, 17, injured in the road accident two weeks ago in which her mother, Princess Grace, died, left hospital on Sunday night, the palace announced.

Stephanie suffered a hairline fracture of a vertebra in the accident. Her doctors have said the injury will not cause any permanent damage but will take many weeks to heal completely.

Basque separatist leader shot dead by police

SAN SEBASTIAN, Spain (AP). — Police said they killed an alleged leader of an ETA guerrilla commando unit in a shootout Sunday and arrested three of his followers in the Basque separatist organization.

Fernando Barrio Olano was killed after exchanging fire with police who entered his apartment, officers said. They said they found several guns and ammunition, military uniforms and information about planned attacks in Spain's northern Basque country.

Police said they later arrested three members of the commando unit.

S.A. court rejects mercenaries' appeals

BLOEMFONTEIN, South Africa (UPI). — The Appeal Court yesterday turned down an application from convicted mercenary Mike Hoare, 62, against his effective 10-year jail sentence on hijacking charges stemming from the abortive coup in the Seychelles last November.

The court also refused applications by five of Hoare's fellow mercenaries. Tullio Moneta, Kenneth Daigleish, Pieter Dooreward, Michael Webb and Peter Bruce for leave to appeal against their sentences. Forty-two mercenaries had been sentenced in July to terms ranging from six months to 10 years.

3 E. Germans make it safely to the West

MUNICH (UPI). — Three East Germans have fled to the West, the Bavarian Interior Ministry announced yesterday.

It said a 33-year old man fled safely through a minefield early Sunday and two others, one 18 and the other 38, fled yesterday.

They all gave dissatisfaction with political conditions as their reason for fleeing, the ministry said.



A police officer inspects damage after a bomb went off at a tourist agency in Frankfurt yesterday. (UPI telephoto)

One dies in German 'anti-Israeli' blast

FRANKFURT. — Police said they suspected anti-Israeli "terrorist circles" were responsible for three pre-dawn bomb blasts here yesterday which killed one man and seriously injured a woman.

The bombs exploded at the offices of two German travel agencies and the Iranian airline Iran Air, police said.

Police have no clues as to who set the bombs, but suspected anti-Israeli terrorists were at work because all three sites targeted by the blasts offered trips to Israel.

In West Berlin, a bomb exploded

near an office block housing several companies including the American computer firm Sperry.

Police said the bomb, a petrol canister with a time switch that was placed in the courtyard of the office building, went off at 3:40 a.m. shattering windows in the block but causing no casualties.

One of the travel agencies specialized in group holidays to Israel, and the owner of the other is Jewish. West German television said. Police said they stepped up their guard on Frankfurt's synagogue following the bombings. (AP, Reuters)

Histadrut to demand El Al resumption

TEL AVIV (Iim). — Histadrut secretary-general Yehoram Meshel will call a special session of the Histadrut Central Committee tomorrow to demand that the El Al management renew the airline's flights immediately, the Histadrut spokesman said last night.

Meshel said that if the company does not respond to the committee's demand to begin normal operations of the airline with the full complement of workers, the Central Committee would consider calling a meeting of the full Workers' Committee to discuss further operative measures.

On Sunday, the labour court ordered the suspension of letters of dismissal which were sent to seven El Al stewards.

Judge David Moral ruled that the

sending of the dismissal notices is apparently a breach of the collective work agreement.

He accepted the argument of the El Al workers' committees that the company be prevented from firing the stewards until a final decision is given in the case, expected around mid-October.

Following the court's decision, the El Al Workers' Committee sent a telegram to Nahman Ori, the ministry of Labour's conciliator, asking him to convene both sides in the dispute as soon as possible.

The spokesman of the Workers' Committee also issued a statement saying they were prepared to buy the company themselves, rather than allow it "to fall in the hands of people in whom the government is interested."

Plane hijacker motivated by hatred of capitalism

CATANIA, Sicily (Reuters). — A Soviet-born Australian has told investigators he tried to hijack an Alitalia airplane between Algiers and Rome on Saturday night because he felt rejected by the capitalist West, judicial sources said on Sunday.

Investigators who questioned Igor Shkuro, 32, after he was overpowered and disarmed of a 10-centimetre knife, described him as intolerant of everything and everybody, the sources added.

The plane's pilot told reporters that Shkuro had burst into the cockpit waving a knife and had demanded to be flown to Libya and then Malta. Both countries refused

permission to land. He then ordered the pilot to fly to Moscow.

"I persuaded him that we could never make it to Moscow and promised that if we landed in Catania we could refuel and take on supplies," Captain Leonardo Sinisi said.

Shkuro was overpowered and disarmed by paramilitary police after the plane landed in Catania.

The sources said Shkuro left his native Leningrad under a Jewish emigration programme five years ago and arrived in Australia in 1978. He told investigators he had worked in Sydney as a docker and had been in prison, before moving to Canberra last August.

Test-tube baby pioneer condemned

LONDON (UPI). — British doctors yesterday condemned Dr. Robert Edwards, the test-tube baby pioneer, for carrying out experiments on 14 to 15 "spare" human embryos, most of which died.

Edwards, who is not a medical doctor, told a medical journalists' meeting Sunday the experiments had been going on over a long period at his infertility clinic near Cambridge.

He did not, however, say how many of the 14 to 15 "spare" embryos were still alive.

The revelation unleashed a torrent of reaction from both doctors and anti-abortion groups who denounced Edwards for using "barbaric technology" and Nazi techniques on humans.

"One has got to realize that these are potential human beings," said Dr. Walter Hodgecock, a former British Medical Association officer. "It is really like pinning a baby down on a board and doing experiments on it."

Mubarak: No decision yet to let Arafat to visit Cairo

CAIRO. — President Hosni Mubarak said yesterday no decision has been made on a visit to Egypt by Palestinian Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat.

This contradicted a report on Saturday by the state-run Middle East News Agency (MENA) that the plan for the visit was "holding" and that Arafat was expected to make it next month.

"This has not been decided yet," Mubarak told reporters who asked about an Arafat visit and talks with the president.

Arafat has not been in Cairo since November 1977 when the late president Anwar Sadat began the peace process with a visit to Jerusalem.

Cairo's weekly newspaper Al-Shaab of the opposition Socialist Labour Party last week quoted Arafat as having told party leader Ibrahim Shikry in Rome earlier this month that he intended to visit Egypt in the near future.

Meanwhile, MENA Sunday denied that Egypt's secret intelligence had contacted the PLO to warn its leadership against Israel's imminent invasion of Lebanon in early June.

MENA quoted a "responsible source" as denying a recent statement by Salam Khalaf, (Abu Iyad),

member of the central committee of the PLO Fatah faction to this effect. Khalaf had also revealed in the Al-Khalif that Mubarak had pledged to "freeze" the peace treaty with Israel if Arafat so requested.

"We asked the Egyptians to define their stance, and they said they would support us with an information campaign, diplomatic efforts and medical supplies, as a first phase," Khalaf told Al-Khalif.

After the Beirut siege, he said, the PLO Cairo representative reported that the Egyptian National Security Council was weighing the feasibility of a freeze in peace treaty ties with Israel.

The Egyptians, he said, were awaiting a formal request from Arafat before taking a decision on freezing ties with Israel.

"Arafat made the request, but the peace treaty was never frozen," he complained.

Meanwhile, Al-Ahram charged yesterday that Israel assassinated Lebanese president-elect Bashir Gemayel in order to storm West Beirut and to carry out the massacre in the Beirut refugee camps.

Al-Ahram columnist Mustapha Badawi said: "I have no doubt that Israel assassinated Bashir Gemayel, because no one else was capable of penetrating his fortified headquarters." (AP, UPI)

Arafat says U.S., not Israel, responsible

NEW YORK (AP). — The U.S., not Israel, is responsible for the massacre in Beirut, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat charged on CBS television's "60 Minutes" programme on Sunday.

However, in a statement released separately, the Palestine Liberation Organization head did blame Israel.

In an interview with TV reporter Ed Bradley recorded Saturday and broadcast Sunday, Arafat said, "What has been done in Beirut and

in Lebanon was not an Israeli aggression. This is an American conspiracy against the Palestinians."

Arafat spoke by satellite from Saudi Arabia.

"I have to blame the American administration," said Arafat. "I am not going to blame the Israelis."

The separate statement Sunday came as Arafat participated in the last rituals of the Moslem annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

IDF PLANS

(Continued from Page One)

have an air traffic controller in the tower.

Meanwhile, Israel has stopped removing enemy arms and ammunition from West Beirut. Its systematic removal of equipment from the dumps of the Morabotim and other organizations has caused friction with the Lebanese authorities. Israel claims the Lebanese agreed that it remove the equipment, but a Lebanese spokesman denied it. The matter was taken up with U.S. special envoy Philip Habib.

Following Habib's visit to Israel last week, the IDF spokesman announced that Israel had "completed the removal of arms and weapons dumps the terrorists had left in West Beirut." But a spokesman carefully avoided saying it had removed all arms. "We removed whatever we wanted," he told The Post.

According to the IDF spokesman's account, Israel removed some 520 tons of ammunition, including Katyusha rockets, mortars, recoilless guns, cannons, anti-aircraft and anti-tank rockets as well as ammunition for light arms. It also removed 23 tanks and armoured personnel carriers, some 200 jeeps, trucks and pick-up vans, about 80 cannons and mortars, five Katyusha launchers, 75 RPG launchers and some 5,000 guns, machine-guns and pistols.

Other items included a mobile broadcasting station, some 230 optical items and clothes and shoes — some of which were designed for children, the spokesman said.

Usable equipment was withdrawn by the IDF while other equipment was loaded on Lebanese vessels and dumped into the sea. However, reporters saw the Lebanese army remove equipment for its own use.

CABINET TO OPT

(Continued from Page One)

"deliberately and hypocritically whipping up hysteria, which is further fanned by the media, which is solidly controlled by the government opponents." The source noted that "while the alignment is calling for an immediate inquiry, in 1973, after the state's existence was in peril, the Agranat Commission was set up only some five months after the Yom Kippur War." (The Agranat Commission in fact was set up one month after the war.)

In order to demonstrate that there is wide support for the government, the Likud will on Saturday hold its own rally in Tel Aviv's Kikar Malchei Yisrael to counter the opposition's rally last Saturday night. The Labour party, meanwhile, says that the joint headquarters for opposition parties, Peace Now and other groups which organized the opposition rally, will not be disbanded and will continue to sponsor more such demonstrations in other cities.

The Mapam leadership will meet tomorrow to discuss ways to press the campaign to force Begin and Defence Minister Ariel Sharon to resign.

Begin was reportedly encouraged over Yom Kippur, meanwhile, by the warm welcome given him by worshippers at the Jerusalem Great Synagogue on Kol Nidre Eve. Hundreds of the congregation escorted him to his nearby home with singing and slogans.

22 security prisoners get festival pardons

RAMALLAH (Iim). — The O/C Central command on Sunday pardoned 22 security prisoners from Judea and Samaria on the occasion of the Id al-Adha feast.

ALEXANDER WEINSTEIN

Accountant

The funeral will take place on Wednesday, September 29, 1982 at the Holon Cemetery at 10 a.m.

Israeli Brookstein-Asher Abraham and staff

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A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem



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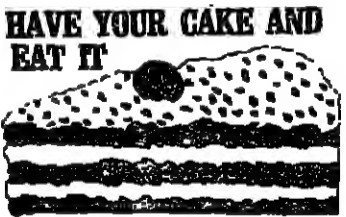
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Hongkong's future uncertain as Thatcher leaves China

PEKING (Reuters). — Margaret Thatcher ended the first visit to China by a British prime minister on Sunday having been firmly told by Chinese leaders that they intend to recover sovereignty over Hongkong. But she won Chinese agreement to hold talks on Hongkong's future, with the stated common aim of maintaining its prosperity and stability after 1997, when Britain's 99-year lease on much of the territory expires.

Brezhnev wooing Chinese, says normal ties main goal

MOSCOW. — President Leonid Brezhnev indicated Sunday that normalization of relations with China is now the main goal of the Kremlin's policy in Asia. Speaking in the Caspian Sea port of Baku, Brezhnev did not mention Soviet-American relations or the Middle East.

But on Asia, he described the achievement of a normalization and gradual improvement of relations between Moscow and Peking as "very important."

Relations with China should be normalized on a basis of common sense, mutual respect and mutual advantage which would serve peace and stability in Asia and the rest of the world, Brezhnev said.

Western diplomats said China continued to appear suspicious of Soviet intentions at a time when

within a month or sooner in Peking. They are likely to be complicated and could take months or possibly even years, depending on how flexible the Chinese are willing to be. The sources said it appeared that as long as China continues to put its own economic interests above nationalism, it will be possible for Hongkong to continue thriving and making money for its own people and for Peking. Although Chinese leaders have said they intend to recover sovereignty, non-British diplomats said they did not know whether Peking had decided exactly how it wanted to do it.

UK Labour decides to rid party of extreme leftists

BLACKPOOL (UPI). — Labour opposition leader, Michael Foot won a victory yesterday in his battle to rid the party of extreme left-wingers he charged were trying to form "a party within a party."

A series of four votes on the opening day of Labour's annual convention gave Foot three-to-one majorities on each. They authorized the party's national executive committee to establish a register of organizations permitted and not permitted inside the Labour Party.

"This is not a witch hunt," Foot said in a 15-minute closing speech to the 1,200 delegates. "I have

Honduran hostages freed, call captors 'idealists'

SAN PEDRO SULA, Honduras (UPI). — Prominent Honduran businessmen held hostage by leftist rebels for eight days said Sunday their captors were idealists with whom they had some beliefs in common.

The guerrillas "are not bad people," said freed hostage Rafael Pastor Zelaya, who is president of the Honduran Association of Industrialists.

"They were not assassins, they were idealists. We have points in common. We received a message that we must meditate," he said.

Pastor Zelaya was freed on Saturday, one of the last people released by the Cinchoneros who seized 105 hostages when they stormed San

Pedro Sula's chamber of commerce September 17. Among those seized were some of Honduras' most powerful and wealthy businessmen, as well as the Central American nation's ministers of commerce and economics and the central bank president.

The Cinchoneros, who take their name from a 19th-century peasant leader, demanded the release of 17 political prisoners and the expulsion of American military advisers. The government says they left "empty handed."

After releasing the hostages, a dozen rebels fled to Panama where they are to remain until they are granted political asylum in Cuba, Panamanian authorities said Sunday.

Soviets say Greeks give in to NATO

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The official Soviet daily Pravda said yesterday Greece's Socialist government had given way to pressure from the U.S. and NATO by agreeing to take part in military exercises in the eastern Mediterranean.

The newspaper said the involvement of Greek forces in the current NATO war games had "caused concern" because it contradicted earlier Socialist pledges to pull out of the alliance's military activities.

The article appeared to be the first Soviet criticism of Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu's government since it came to power nearly a year ago.

In Athens, a U.S. Embassy spokesman yesterday announced the arrival of Gen. Edward Myer, U.S. Army chief of staff for a three-day visit during which he will inspect American installations and meet with their commanders. His schedule, a spokesman said also includes meetings with Deputy Defence Minister Antonis Drosos and senior officers of the Greek army.

The airline has closed 60 routes and 23 offices around the world in the last three years.

UK airline retrenching to cut costs

LONDON (UPI). — State-owned British Airways announced yesterday it is to cease flights on 17 routes and to close seven overseas offices by next spring as part of its drive to return to long-term profitability.

The airline, rumoured to be on the point of reporting a record annual loss of £400 million, will realize a saving of about £10 m. a year from the cuts, officials said.

The closures are a direct result of unrelenting, world-wide recession in our markets," said Roy Watts, deputy chairman and group managing director. "But some sensible pruning now in markets where recession has hit us worst will ensure that the vast bulk of our network will be safe for the future."

The statement followed reports that China had contacted international oil companies on prospecting for and extracting oil and gas from the eastern part of the Tonkin Gulf.

The area covers territorial waters claimed by China and Vietnam.

ANGOLA. — China has given diplomatic recognition to Angola and will shortly exchange ambassadors with the Marxist African state, Luanda radio said yesterday.

New fighting flares in Gulf

LONDON (Reuters). — Iran rejected all compromise solutions for an end to the Gulf war yesterday amid reports of a flare-up in fighting along its border with Iraq.

The Iranian news agency IRNA said Teheran would "never yield to an imposed peace" but would stick by its four-fold demand for an end to the two-year-old conflict.

This included the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Iranian territory, the identification and punishment of the aggressor, the

Poland expected to revive unions next month

WARSAW (UPI). — The authorities will soon move to revive trade unions suspended last December under martial law, but the decision will be a difficult one "not free from danger," the government newspaper Zycie Warszawy said yesterday.

The newspaper said a bill providing for the reinstatement of trade unions would probably be passed in October, provided existing legislation governing labour unions proved insufficient.

The government would act soon because the indefinite suspension of trade unions would provide opposition force with a "form of attack on the political system," the daily added.

It warned that a "political struggle" would continue, with the new unions operating alongside currently interned leaders of the suspended independent trade union Solidarity and even those Solidarity members still operating underground.

It warned, however, that the remnants of the union were becoming "increasingly linked with foreign political centres aiming at fighting against Socialism and weakening the Socialist camp."

Three kinds of unions operated before the imposition of martial law last December 13. Solidarity, the largest, had a membership of 9.5 million, with the state-backed "branch" and "autonomous" unions accounting for 4 million and 900,000 members respectively.

Booby-trap kills UK soldier in Belfast

BELFAST (AP). — A British soldier was killed and two others wounded in a booby-trap explosion in Belfast early yesterday, police reported.

A spokesman said the bomb detonated when the troopers opened a gate on the West Circular Road on the so-called "peace line" between Protestant and Roman Catholic districts.

The security gate is locked at night and opened by soldiers every morning. Police believe the bomb was wired to the gate by guerrillas after it was closed Sunday night.

Police theorized the bomb was planted by the outlawed Provisional Irish Republican Army or by its Marxist splinter group, the Irish National Liberation Army. There was no immediate claim of responsibility.

DALAI LAMA. — The Dalai Lama, exiled spiritual leader of more than six million Tibetans, arrived here in Rome yesterday on the first leg of a European tour.

TIGER. — An eight-year-old girl has been attacked and killed by a tiger in a remote area of North Sumatra, Indonesia. Antara news agency reported yesterday.

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Post Mortem

The Massacre Brings On a Crisis of Faith For Israelis

By DAVID E. SHIPLER

AFTER the events of last week, Israel may never again be able to feel the same way about itself. Something snapped. The belief, the conviction that Israel was somehow different, somehow special amid the brutality and hypocrisy of the world's nations, was profoundly shaken if not swept away.

Only at the pinnacle of governmental power did a tight circle of moral certainty seem to remain. Prime Minister Menachem Begin, wrapped in the mantle of virtue he has always worn, dismissed as "a blood libel" the assessment that Israel bore some responsibility for the massacre by its Lebanese Christian allies of hundreds of Palestinian men, women and children in two refugee camps in Beirut. "No one will preach to us ethics and respect for human life," Mr. Begin thundered. And then he had the full Cabinet endorse his declaration, despite the quiet misgivings of several ministers.

The Prime Minister's sense of righteousness found some echoes among those who wear their bigotry proudly. "Who cares?" people were heard to say. "Let the Arabs kill each other. They deserve it." Rabbi Meir Kahane, who heads the Kach movement, the Jewish Defense League of Israel, issued a written statement saying, "The massacre in Beirut merely shows, in all its clarity, the nature of the Arab."

But these sentiments seemed aberrations. The incident itself, and the Government's impulse to cover up an Israeli involvement that gradually came to light, disgusted Israelis at almost every corner of the society, mobilizing a powerful surge of outrage that extended into the upper levels of the army and into the Cabinet room, and even into the ranks of Prime Minister Begin's most faithful advisers.

By the week's end, after a relentless Israeli press had ferreted out piece after piece of evidence that Israel had sent the Phalangists into the refugee camps and that army headquarters had known of the massacre soon after it began, some stalwart members of Mr. Begin's Herut Party were telling each other — but apparently not the Prime Minister — that a full-blown judicial inquiry must be convened and that Defense Minister Ariel Sharon must go. And Mr. Begin's refusal to dismiss him, arguing personal loyalty and perhaps fearing Mr. Sharon's vindictive disclosures should be removed, left the Prime Minister more alone than he has been for a long time.

It was Mr. Begin himself who recalled Deir Yassin. He brought it up at a Cabinet meeting, and in several private conversations. The name is scarcely known outside the Middle East, except to those who follow the region closely. But it is a codeword of terror and anger and revenge among the Arabs, and a stain that has marked Menachem Begin throughout most of his life. On April 9, 1948, Deir Yassin was an Arab village at the western edge of Jerusalem. In the continual Arab attacks on Jewish convoys between Jerusalem and the coast, the village was considered an enemy military stronghold by Mr. Begin's underground, the Irgun Zvai Leumi. His men attacked at dawn that day, suffering four dead and nearly 40 wounded, according to his account, and leaving dozens of dead Arabs — men, women and children, said by survivors to have been lined up against stone walls in the village and shot in cold blood. Mr. Begin has always insisted publicly that the

Prime Minister
Menachem Begin (left)
and Defense Minister
Ariel Sharon.

civilian population, warned to get out, had been hurt inadvertently in the heat of battle.

It all came back to him last week. He was not in Deir Yassin himself, he pointed out, and knew nothing of it until after the fact. But he never broke ranks with his men by pointing a finger of blame, he told his colleagues. And he would not do that now. He would not dismiss his friend, Arik Sharon. He would not implicate Israel by calling the full judicial inquiry urged by the opposition Labor Party — a device, he felt, to topple his Government.

Alarm and Dismay

Many people who had believed in Menachem Begin were shocked, suddenly seeing a shallower morality than they had imagined in a man so moved and driven by the horror of the Holocaust, a man so contemptuous of those "good" Germans who insisted that they had not known. "We do not know what is happening in the camps," said the Israeli army spokesman, more than 36 hours after headquarters in Tel Aviv was advised that civilians were being killed.

Even some officials who had worked hard for Mr. Begin and argued for him in these five years of his prime ministership were plunged into disillusionment. One noted that the circle had come full round, that Mr. Begin would now end his career in bitter symmetry, stained by the Beirut massacre, as he began it stained by Deir Yassin.

In addition, a shiver of alarm went through the country over Ariel Sharon. Many Israelis were haunted not only by the television pictures of the bodies in the Shatila camp, but also of the face of their Defense Minister as he attacked the Labor opposition in the Knesset, Israel's Parliament. He accused Labor members of giving comfort to the enemy in the war, and he taunted them with suggestions for an investigation of that. "And to make it easy for you," he said, "we will make it a secret commission of inquiry."

He implied that in 1976, when Shimon Peres, the Labor leader, was Defense Minister, Israeli army officers had some involvement in the Christians' massacre of Palestinians at the Tel Zaatar refugee camp. It was his strange, twisted smile while he made this charge that reminded one American-born Israeli official of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, a

parallel that occurred to editorial writers and other Israelis as well. "It was a performance that only the infamous Joe McCarthy could have fully appreciated," wrote The Jerusalem Post. "The single item missing, as Sharon stood at the Knesset rostrum, was the clutch of bogus documents that McCarthy was wont to wave."

As the revelations tumbled out — provided mostly by Israeli army officers to Israeli journalists, it must be stressed — the restive members of Mr. Begin's coalition pressed backstage for an inquiry, finally obtaining a half-concession that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Yitzhak Kahan, could conduct an administrative investigation, apparently without the power to subpoena witnesses and documents or to take testimony under oath. Justice Kahan demurred for the moment, citing two petitions on the matter pending before the court. Mr. Sharon then said he supported some kind of investigation and would accept its results. But this was a political decision taken in the face of a potential coalition crisis. It remained to be seen whether it would be sufficient either to dampen the political turmoil in the governing coalition or to satisfy the nation.

A democracy has the capacity to purge itself, and Israel proved again last week what a vigorous democracy it is. Some concerned Israelis see a danger now that the outside world, in virulent anti-Semitism, will bound the Jewish state with boycotts and sanctions, setting defense mechanisms in motion and interfering with the internal corrective process. Mr. Sharon has already played to

Reports from Beirut and Washington, page 2

this: The whole world knew the Phalangists carried out the attack, he said, and yet not a word is said against them, only against Israel.

But the sense of responsibility remained. Yaacov Kirschen, in his "Dry Bones" cartoon strip for The Jerusalem Post, had his character Shuldig addressing the readers: "When terrorists attacked from Syria, we blamed the Syrians. When murderous infiltrators slipped in from Lebanon, we blamed the Lebanese. When P.L.O. killers launched raids from Jordan, we blamed the Jordanians. When fedayeen goons came in from Egypt, we blamed the Egyptians. But when we send a bloodthirsty gang into a refugee camp, we blame everyone in the world except ourselves. Whether it was omission or commission, we've got something to atone for this Yom Kippur."

A prominent Israeli journalist remarked: "Sharon, in order to survive, has to get rid of some generals. Begin, if he wants to survive, has to get rid of Sharon. We, if we want to survive, have to get rid of all of them."



Labor Party leader Shimon Peres

Cuomo Passes Koch on the Left, Faces Lehrman for Governor

NEW YORKERS will still have Mayor Koch to bid around. Less than a year after he won a second term at City Hall, Mr. Koch could not persuade voters to give him a big sendoff, and in a primary that had politicians and pollsters scurrying to justify their assumptions, Lieut. Gov. Mario M. Cuomo last week defeated him for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination by a 53 to 47 margin.

Mr. Cuomo credited his victory to the "old Democratic coalition" of labor unions, minority groups and liberals. With 10,000 campaign workers getting out an unusually big vote of 1.3 million, the Lieutenant Governor ran virtually even on Mr. Koch's turf, stayed close in the suburbs and triumphed upstate, where he took 65 percent of the vote. In all, Mr. Cuomo won 54 of the state's 62 counties. According to one exit poll, he captured 70 percent of the Italian-American vote along with the majority of those describing themselves as liberals and as conservatives.

The rest of the Mayor's ticket fared better than he did: Alfred B. DeBel- le, the Westchester County Executive

who was Mr. Koch's choice for Lieutenant Governor, handily defeated H. Carl McCall, the only black running for statewide office, although Mr. Cuomo and Mr. McCall had traded endorsements. Raymond F. Gallagher, an upstate the Mayor tapped for Comptroller, edged two challengers. Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan easily won re-election and will face an obscure Brooklyn Assemblywoman, Florence M. Sullivan, whose victory in the Republican primary was the second biggest jolt in the balloting.

There were numerous theories as to why Mr. Koch, who led by 35 points in an early survey, lost his first election in 20 years to a rival who had never before won on his own. Some thought tensions in the Middle East may have cut into the Jewish vote in Brooklyn, a reputed Koch stronghold. Others contended that voters in the city didn't want to lose him as Mayor. Still others said upstate and suburban residents never forgave the Mayor's disparaging remarks in Playboy magazine. An uncharacteristically somber Mr. Koch offered no excuses, however. "Mario waged a good race,

as did we," he told supporters who had gathered to hear a victory speech. "But the people spoke."

Mr. Koch promised to do all he could to insure a Nov. 2 victory for Mr. Cuomo over Republican businessman Lewis E. Lehrman, who spent \$7.1 million, 20 times more than opponent Paul J. Curran, and defeated the former prosecutor by a 4-to-1 margin. The coming campaign is likely to feature some sharp ideological differences: Mr. Cuomo opposes the death penalty, Mr. Lehrman favors it; Mr. Cuomo favors spending for social programs, Mr. Lehrman is a supply-sider who advocates eight years of income tax cuts. But as always in New York, the election may turn on the kind of ethnic complications for which the state is famous. As an Italian-American, will Mr. Cuomo be able to attract upstate Italian-Americans who normally vote Republican? And how will Mr. Lehrman, a Jewish conservative, fare among the state's numerous Jewish voters, many of whom are liberal?

Pollsters had already begun their work. In a survey released two weeks ago, Gordon S. Black of Roches ter, the only analyst who publicly predicted the race between Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Koch would be close, said a one-on-one contest between Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Lehrman would end in a virtual dead heat.



Lieut. Gov. Mario M. Cuomo with his wife, Matilde.

How Palme's victory could change industry in Sweden

3



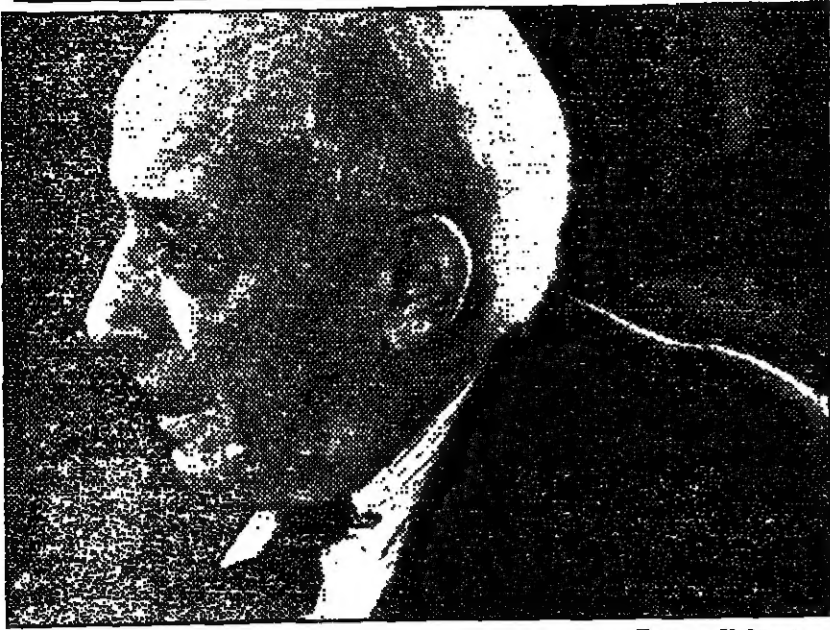
People with people in mind.



bank leumi בנק לאומי

The World

In Summary



Eugene V. Rostow

British Unions Meet Briefly on The Barricades

With unemployment hitting 14 percent, Britain's unions are mighty angry but their might isn't what it once was. Millions of workers, defying new penalties for secondary strikes, staged walkouts that ranged from one hour to all day in support of pay demands by 600,000 nurses and other Government health workers.

Nearly all coal mines were shut, along with London's national newspapers. Bus drivers and other municipal employees walked out in some cities; so did longshoremen in Southampton and Liverpool. But television and train services were not affected and management spokesmen belittled stoppages in most industries as "token."

Len Murray, general secretary of the 11-million-member Trades Union Congress hailed "a thunderous call for justice and fair dealing" for health workers. Two-thirds of them earn less than the official "poverty wage" of \$145 a week and some junior nurses get only \$80.

But Prime Minister Thatcher, who broke a strike of 24,000 rail engineers in July by threatening to fire them all, didn't budge. No amount of protest, she said while on an Asian trade promotion trip, could increase the Government's offer of one-year increases of up to 7½ percent for the health workers. They were asking 12 percent, they said, to keep up with inflation that only recently has dropped from double digits.

Mrs. Thatcher's aides have pointed to falling inflation and interest rates as indicators of better times ahead. But output, aside from North Sea oil and gas, was still dropping and a Government forecast showed the economy "bumping along the bottom." One insouciant Thatcher minister, however, read 14 percent unemployment to mean "86 percent of the people are working" and political polls showed the Tories, with 47 percent, still well ahead. Labor had 37 percent and the Social Democrat-Liberal alliance, 14.

Half-Lives in Arms Control

President Reagan paid a toll on the rocky road to arms control last week, jettisoning a senior appointee under threat of filibuster by Senate conservatives. In what the White House thought was a deal with Senator Jesse Helms, it abandoned Norman Terrell, its nominee for assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in hopes of keeping Robert Grey, its choice for deputy director. But three other conservative Republicans — Orrin Hatch of Utah, Jeremiah Denton of Alabama and Roger W. Jepsen of Iowa — insisted that even so, they would oppose Mr. Grey on the Senate floor. Mr. Terrell and Mr. Grey have been serving on an acting basis.

With Mr. Terrell's way blocked, Senator Helms indicated he would drop his threat to spearhead a "lengthy and divisive debate" on the verifiability of prior SALT agreements with the Russians and on the "basic assumptions of Start," the President's own proposals. But last week, allies of the North Carolina Republican denied there had been a deal.

The arms control agency's director, Eugene V. Rostow, is known as a hawk, but Mr. Helms had accused Mr. Grey and Mr. Terrell of heretical behavior. They tried "to downgrade or eliminate the verification function" in the agency and "do not deserve the trust of the American people," the Senator asserted. And besides, they had worked in the Carter Administration.

"Verification" is a word that buzzes loudly for some conspiracy-sensitive senators. They contend that the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations covered up Soviet violations of earlier arms-control agreements. "I'm for verification," Mr. Rostow said last week, "cooperative measures that include on-site inspection, fancy electronic stuff, television monitors" in the Soviet Union. Under specific conditions, the Russians

"have accepted the idea," he noted.

Some conservatives want the Administration to issue a formal and public condemnation of Soviet shiftness, enshrining the President's news conference appraisal of Russians — "they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat." That, Mr. Rostow's aides said, could torpedo any arms pact in advance. It would also be greeted with a chorus of "we told you so's" by domestic and foreign doubters of Mr. Reagan's dedication to arms control.

The Many Faces Of the New China

What do an oil rig and a skin cream have in common? Ask Deng Xiaoping, who thinks both Western breakthroughs are necessary for the new China.

The Atlantic Richfield Company became the first American concern to win a contract to drill for oil off the Chinese coast. In conjunction with the Sante Fe International Corporation, a drilling company, Arco will seek oil in 3,500 square miles of the South China Sea in what it called "probably the longest unexplored virgin coastline in the world."

China's onshore oil production has begun to fall and reached barely 2 million barrels last year. With domestic demand relatively low, some of that oil has been sold to the United States. But a growing economy is requiring more oil, hence the desire to develop an offshore potential that the Government estimates at between 70 billion and 145 billion barrels but which Western experts put at closer to 30 billion. Some of the new supply would be sold for much-needed foreign exchange. In return for a share of the profits, Arco will assume all the financial risks.

China, on the other hand, may be assuming some ideological risks in introducing a domestically manufactured moisture cream developed by Avon Products of the United States. Peking ideologists say China is opening up to the capitalist world while "simultaneously rejecting foreign decadent ideas." Presumably the cream is not decadent but, according to Avon, "very useful" in Peking's dry, windy climate. But catering to the masses has its limits. A jar of "Love Fragrance" will cost the equivalent of \$1.33, expensive for the average worker, and no Avon lady will call.

Mideast Politics In Atomic Forum

In world politics, countries get their revenge where they can. In Vienna last week, Arab members of the International Atomic Energy Agency, with the backing of the Soviet bloc, tried but failed to get a two-thirds majority to expel Israel from the Agency. But they did succeed in mustering a simple majority to deny Israel credentials to attend the Agency's annual conference.

Whereupon the United States, followed by 15 other countries, withdrew its delegation in protest and warned darkly, but somewhat mysteriously, that "the action of the United States could have ramifications for the whole United Nations system." It was the first time that the United States had walked out of a United Nations sponsored conference because of Israel, but with the meeting virtually at an end, the action had little practical effect.

More serious was Washington's refusal to participate at a meeting of the Agency's Board of Governors where important issues such as Pakistan's continued refusal to upgrade its atomic safeguards were discussed. The Agency promotes and monitors peaceful uses of atomic energy. It does not deal with political matters but it is an important instrument of Administration policy to halt the spread of atomic arms.

Kenneth Davis, Deputy Secretary of Energy, denounced the Arab initiative and warned that "this pattern of abusing the U.N. system to carry on political vendettas is corrosively dangerous."

Henry Giniger, Milt Freudenheim and Katherine J. Roberts

In Washington, the Ties That Bind With Israel Are Looser

Beirut Killings May Lead To Basic Mideast Changes

By HEDRICK SMITH

WASHINGTON — In the violent and bewildering kaleidoscope of the Middle East, moments occasionally appear when the political pieces are so shaken that old patterns are irrevocably altered, paving the way for new and unpredictable trends. The Beirut massacre of Palestinian civilians, coming after the long and controversial Israeli siege of Beirut, may be one of these events.

Politicians and specialists sense a turning point like the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, which set in motion the diplomatic search for an Arab-Israeli settlement based on the formula of land for peace; like the 1974 Arab League decision that limited diplomacy by making the Palestine Liberation Organization exclusive negotiators on the Palestinian issue, and like Anwar Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, which opened the way to Camp David and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Israel's thrust into Beirut may be remembered as the high-water mark of its drive to destroy the P.L.O., and as a moment when the Palestinian cause gained important new sympathy.

President Reagan conveyed the sense of a possible new shift. Aghast at early reports of the killings, Mr. Reagan commented that Israel no longer seemed the David of the Middle East, but rather the Goliath. And 31 pro-Israeli Congressmen wrote to Prime Minister Menachem Begin warning that refusal to authorize an investigation of the Beirut killings would have "very grave consequences" for American-Israeli relations. The unspoken assumption was that the Begin Government had squandered some of the moral capital that Israel had so often drawn upon to rally Congress to defend it from Administration pressures and to oppose American arms sales to the Arabs. As Senator Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Re-

publican, put it, "Begin's done the impossible in the eyes of the American people — he's almost made Yasir Arafat look palatable."

For Mr. Begin, however, the greatest immediate cost was probably the shift in President Reagan's mood. The President, while personally defending Israel, had left Middle East diplomacy to others during his first 18 months. But now he has openly diverged from Israel, taking the offensive with his own peace outline and proclaiming his differences by calling for a freeze in West Bank settlements and for West Bank links to Jordan. Angered by Israel's military takeover of West Beirut, he announced the return of American marines to Lebanon without seeking Israel's prior acquiescence. He thus demonstrated his refusal to be blocked by Mr. Begin as he presses forward with his own vision of an Arab-Israeli settlement.

Reagan on the Offensive

"If the Israelis had the intention of imposing a quiescent government in Lebanon, disrupting American relations with moderate Arabs, or blocking the President's peace initiative by making the U.S. look helpless when they went into West Beirut, it has really backfired," said a senior official. "The Begin Government, the Begin approach and the hubris of Sharon have been discredited. The consequence has been an American President distancing himself further from Israeli policy." Rarely has an American President had more potential backing and leeway for putting pressure on Israel. Jewish lobbyists are taking issue with Jerusalem as never before. In Congress, there is talk of suspending weapons deliveries to Israel or even using the marines to nudge Israeli forces out of Lebanon. Many members make no secret of their wish to see the Begin Government replaced. Such longtime friends of Israel as Representative Benjamin Rosenthal of New

York assessed the mood of disapproval and disenchantment with Israel as "the worst in 20 years."

But Mr. Reagan is limited by Mr. Begin's intransigence and by the White House's sensitivity to the precarious political mood in Israel and at home. The President has made clear that he would like to see Israeli forces removed from Lebanon entirely (along with a Syrian and P.L.O. withdrawal). His aides add that he would welcome conciliatory Israeli gestures in Lebanon and the West Bank to help draw Jordan's King Hussein and other Arab moderates into negotiations. But he cannot impose these objectives on Israel, although the White House has an arsenal of potential pressure tactics. Since early summer, it has delayed notification to Congress on the sale of 75 F-16 jets for delivery in 1984. It has declined to push for approval of earlier requests to increase aid to Israel in 1983, thus allowing 1982 levels to be continued. It could break with Israel on United Nations votes or even be more flexible in interpreting its own terms for talking with the P.L.O. But the President is not ready for such penalties. He even knocks down suggestions that he would welcome a shift in the Israeli Government.

On advice from Secretary of State George P. Shultz and others, Mr. Reagan has decided to avoid dramatic pressure tactics for fear Mr. Begin would react sharply and turn them around to rally his people and American Jewish supporters, thus shattering support for Reagan Middle East policy. "The worst diplomacy would be gratuitously to offend everybody in Israel by getting into their internal affairs," Vice President George Bush said.

Nonetheless, the Administration has subtly placed the entire American-Israeli relationship in the balance by warning that if Mr. Begin continues to act unilaterally, he will find himself alone, without American support. That could undermine him at home; the Beirut massacre, and indeed the Lebanon war, are seen as having generated a profound re-examination in Israel, which can be better reinforced by candid policy differences with Washington than by resort to crude pressure. Moreover, it suits a Republican President in an election year to have the most vigorous public warnings to an Israeli Prime Minister conveyed by a Congressional group that includes just six Republicans and 25 Democrats.

Can Gemayel's Voice for Moderation Prompt a Chorus?



Newly elected Lebanese President Amin Gemayel speaking at his brother's funeral.

By COLIN CAMPBELL

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Amin Gemayel was sworn in as President last week and embarked on Lebanon's desperate version of a presidential honeymoon. He was riding the crest of near-universal agreement that after the assassination of his brother, President-elect Bashir Gemayel, the new President's survival was absolutely necessary.

But some Lebanese are already wondering if Mr. Gemayel has the plans and talents to rebuild their small, weak, militarily occupied country. His brother was the ruthless leader of his own Phalangist militia and of the "Lebanese Forces" which brought together all right-wing Christian militia forces. Bashir was close to the Israelis, a bitter foe of the Palestinian guerrillas and a dedicated warrior for Maronite Christian interests in the surrounding "Arab sea."

But even Bashir, with the blood of rival Maronites as well as Palestinians and Moslem and leftist Lebanese on his hands, proclaimed immediately after his election last month that he would be President of all Lebanon, where the majority is indisputably Moslem. In the three weeks between his election and his murder he managed to persuade many Moslem leaders, notably the former prime minister, Saeb Salam, leader of West Beirut's mainstream Moslem politicians, to accept the Phalangist victory for the sake of Lebanon.

Amin Gemayel has followed the same course and with far more success. Most Lebanese factions, from Phalangists to Communists to the Sunni Moslems of the north, have rallied around his person and program. He is a traditional Lebanese politician, full of grand words and compromises. Amin is considered less "pure" than his militant brother, more sophisticated and more humane. But questions are already being raised privately as to whether he can make Lebanon independent and peaceful again. His program, subscribed to by most Lebanese factions, calls for Israeli and Syrian troops to withdraw, along with thousands of Palestinian guerrillas, for building a national army at least capable of securing the country against internal violence, and for disbanding and disarming the many private militias. The new President also has called for "collec-

Lebanon's Doubters Are Many, And Armed

tive" leadership — with Moslems and presumably leftists participating — and for maintaining democracy. He has touched all the chords of Lebanese moderation. Different creeds can live together, he said. Lebanon is special; the years of violence would end, if only the foreign troops would leave. The themes have been widely echoed by the politicians who have thronged to Mr. Gemayel's support, eliciting high hopes among many Lebanese and foreign observers. They have also elicited cynicism.

Is this Lebanon as usual, people ask? The Lebanon that could not control the Palestinian guerrillas who moved their primary military base here more than a decade ago? The Lebanon that allowed armed militias to grow up, that called in Syrian troops to gain control over a civil war, and later allowed the Syrians to protect the Palestine Liberation Organization? The Lebanon that was unable to prevent the P.L.O. from raiding Israel from Lebanese territory? The country which could not stop Maj. Saad Haddad, a Lebanese officer, from setting up an Israeli-sponsored enclave on the southern border, or keep Israel from pursuing the P.L.O. into southern Lebanon in 1978 and from marching on Beirut this year? As Ghassan Tuani, former Lebanese Ambassador to the United Nations, writes in Foreign Affairs quarterly, Lebanon's government represented legitimacy without authority.

Yet many Lebanese intensely want the President, while giving traditional power centers their

due, to create a strong central authority backed by a revived army. Bashir Gemayel had the same goals; but it was never clear that he could realize it, despite his popularity with the Reagan Administration, his Phalangist followers and Israel.

The new President has his own talents and liabilities. He is expected, for a while anyway, to be a strong leader in a country where Maronite presidents have usually been content to wheel and deal in combination with the Sunni Moslem Prime Minister and Shiite Speaker of the House allotted by the unwritten "national compact" of 1943. Already, Mr. Gemayel has insisted on taking charge of the multinational force of American, French and Italian troops sent back to Beirut last week. Philip C. Habib, the American special envoy, will help him realize the desire of Lebanese to get all foreign forces out.

Ranking Lebanese and American diplomats believe that Syria sincerely wants to pull its troops out of Lebanon, if it can do so with the appearance of honor. The new President is far less unpopular with the P.L.O. and with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad than his brother was. President Assad rejected Bashir's election as unacceptable; he congratulated Amin. By contrast, Prime Minister Menachem Begin's congratulations to Amin struck Lebanese as less cordial than his note to Bashir. If Mr. Begin and his Government insist on a peace treaty to reclaim the political disasters of the Lebanese campaign, they may find dealing with Amin difficult.

The new President's challenges are overwhelming. His Government does not control Beirut, much less the rest of Lebanon. Syrian and Israeli intentions remain hard to assess despite protestations by both that they have no designs on Lebanese territory. Partition is always a possibility. Ranking officials of the P.L.O., including Fatah officials nominally loyal to Yasir Arafat have said Lebanon must remain a battleground, especially after the massacre by right-wing Christians at the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. The Christian militiamen who attacked the camps had the approval of large numbers of Phalangists, who said they should have killed even more women and children in the breeding ground of terrorism. These soldiers may be beyond Mr. Gemayel's control. To disarm them, he may need more than political skill.

Katherine Young/Polymag
Helmut Kohl

A New Era in Bonn Dawns Slowly but Not Surely

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

BONN — A "new era" is supposed to be dawning in West Germany as 13 years of Social Democratic rule come to an end and Helmut Kohl and his Christian Democratic Party, exiled for so long in the opposition, stitch together the coalition that could bring them to power this week on a parliamentary vote against Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Looking back over the past three decades, columnists and headline writers have understandably parsed out the era of Konrad Adenauer under the Christian Democrats and the era of Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt under the Social Democrats. But, for the moment, there seems to be some reluctance to talk of the era of Helmut Kohl.

One source of this uncertainty is that Mr. Kohl's elevation to the chancellorship on a so-called "constructive no-confidence vote" in the Bundestag this Friday is not yet a foregone conclusion. The wrenching decision by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, chairman of the liberal Free Democrat Party, to abandon Mr. Schmidt's cabinet and to sign up with Mr. Kohl has splintered the little party into embittered camps. Mr. Kohl needs a minimum of 23 of the Free Democrats' 53 votes to become chancellor, assuming there is no slippage from the ranks of his own party or its sister Bavarian organization on the secret ballot. But local elections today in Hesse state could sharpen the disarray and dependency among the Free Democrats.

Mr. Genscher is already under fire for what one party left-winger denounced as "a putsch from above" — the hasty decision to join the conservative Christian Democrats and abandon the still-popular Mr. Schmidt. If the Free Democrats founder today in Hesse and win no seats in the state legislature, Mr. Genscher's position could become untenable within his own party.

If the bulky, affable Mr. Kohl is named chancellor by the Bundestag next week, he still needs a credible Free Democrat Party in his government if this is, indeed, to become his era. For, just as Mr. Schmidt used the centrist Free Democrats to domesticate the left wing of his Social Democrats, Mr. Kohl will need the small swing party to keep rival Christian Democratic barons under control. First among these is Franz Josef Strauss, the wisecracking and savvy leader of the Christian Social Union, the Bavarian sister party. "It makes no difference to me who's chancellor under me," Mr. Strauss reportedly quipped recently, underlining his low regard for Mr. Kohl. Mr. Strauss would like to be foreign minister if the Christian Democrats can win an absolute majority in the Bundestag elections which Mr. Kohl has promised to hold in March.

Content to remain in his Bavarian redoubt until then, Mr. Strauss has, however, attempted to impose his own choice for the key position of interior minister on Mr. Kohl. Mr. Strauss' candidate is Friedrich Zimmermann, his Bonn representative, whose career is tainted by several scandals and a perjury conviction in 1980. A zealous right-winger like his boss, Mr. Zimmermann could be expected to take a hard line on such questions as suspected Communists in the civil service, the treatment of foreign migrant workers and further demonstrations against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization moves to deploy medium-range missiles on West German soil next year.

The most striking facet of the rest of the emerging Kohl team is its continuity with the Schmidt years. With Mr. Genscher promised the foreign affairs job he held under Mr. Schmidt, there will probably be no bold initiatives abroad, though Mr. Kohl feels that ties with the United States must be strengthened. A Kohl government will be less tempted to stake out a position of equidistance between Moscow and Washington, but it will not undo West German participation in the Soviet gas pipeline. The probable appointment of Rainer Barzel, a pragmatic moderate, to the sensitive cabinet job that handles ties with East Germany suggests that relations will continue to be civilized, if somewhat frosty.

The same thread of continuity is already discernible in economic policy. A sometime rival for the chancellor's job, Gerhard Stoltenberg, the cool, silver-haired Premier of Schleswig-Holstein, is expected to make cuts in generous unemployment payments and some social security benefits, but the dismantling of a welfare state that reaches back to Bismarck is not on the Christian Democratic agenda. Already, as he confronts a possible budget deficit of \$20 billion, Mr. Stoltenberg is considering a tax on high income groups that was one of the reasons the Free Democrats quit the Schmidt cabinet.

The 52-year-old Mr. Kohl, who has never shed a tinge of provincialism, appears as a conciliator, not an innovator, in his uneasy three-party coalition. He is a man at ease with himself, representing a generation of Germans that is less freighted than his elders by the memories of Hitler. His middle-of-the-road opinions give way at times to a homespun patriotism that seems to go down well on the stump. His political strength lies in his command of a loyal party apparatus. As its candidate, he almost beat Mr. Schmidt for chancellor in the 1976 elections, and he ceded the nomination to Mr. Strauss in 1980.

Unlike many Germans, Mr. Kohl speaks no foreign languages, which will handicap him at European and American summits. And in Bonn, if he is not careful, he may find economic policy run by Mr. Stoltenberg, civil rights matters dictated from Bavaria, and foreign policy in the hands of Mr. Genscher — or Mr. Strauss. A tentative beginning for the Kohl era.

On a Visit Last Week, Mrs. Thatcher Held Off Chinese Designs on a British Colony

Peking Is Ready to Negotiate But Hong Kong Is Still Jittery

By STEVE LOHR

HONG KONG — For more than three decades, Hong Kong has been China's compromise with reality. The British colony is a vestige of 19th century Western imperialism, evoking memories of opium wars and China's humiliation at the hands of foreigners. Since it came to power in 1949, the Communist regime has always had the option of snatching control of Hong Kong, which is defenseless and dependent on China for half its food and most of its water.

Yet, despite its internal shifts of leadership and ideology over the years, China has chosen to leave Hong Kong alone because it has served its interests to do so. Hong Kong is the economic gateway to China, a source of foreign exchange, investment and technology. In addition, Hong Kong has been a social safety valve for China, absorbing refugees from the Communist system at the current rate of more than 65,000 a year.

rate of more than 65,000 a year.

Last week, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met with Chinese leaders in Peking to try to persuade them that for the economic benefits to continue, Hong Kong must remain under British control. After Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang reasserted Peking's claims, the two sides agreed to begin "intense negotiations" immediately with the "common aim" of maintaining stability and prosperity, according to Mrs. Thatcher who arrives in Hong Kong today.

To save face, China can claim titular sovereignty and even fly its flag over the capitalist city-state, British diplomats say. But for the foreseeable future, they contend Britain must run Hong Kong to prevent a massive flight of people and capital. This view is shared by most of the Hong Kong Chinese who constitute 96 percent of the 5.2 million residents. The British symbolize the existing order and their presence is necessary to maintain confidence. Without confidence, the colony's currently dy-

namic economy would wilt.

"The people in Hong Kong are very worried," Joseph Cheng, a political scientist at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, reported. "It is absolutely essential that a British administration be retained, probably for a decade or more."

At first glance, the reason for the deep concern over Hong Kong's future seems distant: Britain's 99-year lease from China on the so-called New Territories, representing 96 percent of the colony's land, expires in 1997. But many commercial mortgages and other business contracts run for 15 years and after the July 1 anniversary of the lease, tensions rose noticeably. Business decisions in Hong Kong are being delayed because of the uncertainty over what China plans to do.

Last week, Chinese officials reiterated the rather vague position they have taken in recent months. China, they say, will reassert its sovereignty over Hong Kong but, they insist, the prosperity and social system of the city-state will not be affected. Such fuzzy assurances have given little comfort.

The worry is that China will try to negotiate for some type of joint administration of Hong Kong. "That would be disastrous," says Jimmy D. McGregor, Director of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce. "But I fear that is what Peking has in mind."

Last month, anxiety increased that Hong Kong's government might fall under Chinese sway in the wake of two controversial sales of land by the Government to Chinese-controlled firms. In one, the Bank of China bought land in the downtown area for a below-market price. Peking had intended the move as an expression of confidence in Hong Kong's future. Instead, it was viewed as acquiescence by the Hong Kong Government. After the deal was announced, stock prices on the local exchange plummeted, indicating how nervous the mood is.

The London-Peking negotiations, which may last a year or more, will be delicate. If China feels it has to choose between national dignity and economic benefit, then "it will undoubtedly choose national dignity," a British diplomat predicted.

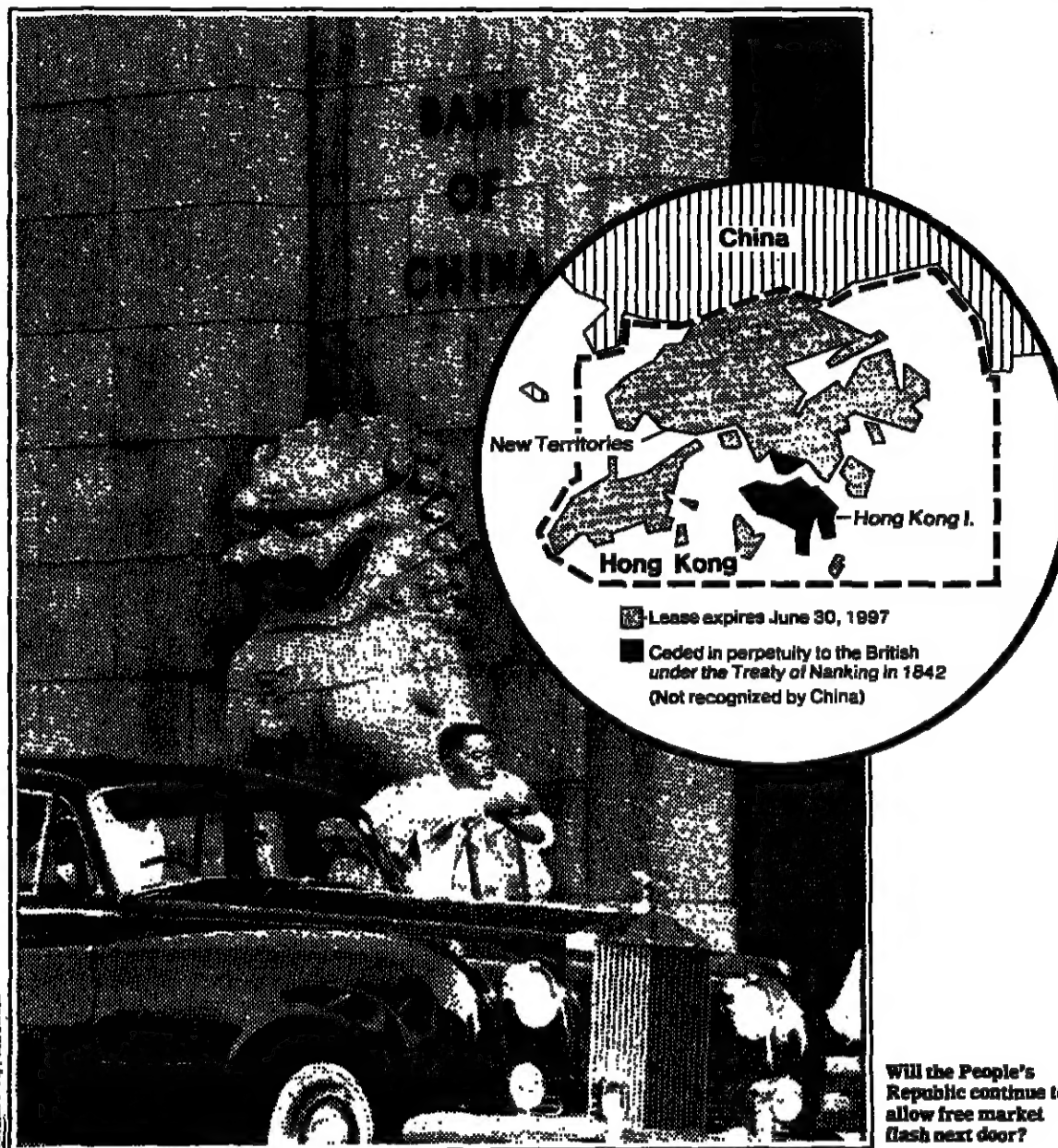
The solution that seems palatable to China and likely to have the least negative effect on the economy would be granting sovereignty to China, maintaining British administration for some lengthy but unspecified period, and scrapping the lease with its 1997 fuse. Unless it appears that negotiations are leading toward such a settlement in the next year or two, the Hong Kong economy will suffer, business and Government officials predict.

Such a solution should logically emerge from pragmatic considerations, given the strong economic interdependence between China and Hong Kong. For example, China gets 40 percent of its total foreign exchange earnings from sales to and financial remittances from Hong Kong. The colony's entrepreneurs are the principal investors in China's special economic zones — enclaves of free enterprise and foreign investment on which it is depending to help create employment and economic development. If China is to industrialize, it needs a thriving, capitalist Hong Kong as a conduit for technology, know-how and money from abroad.

China itself has a few billion dollars worth of direct investments in Hong Kong, ranging from banks and department stores to trading firms and tailors. For its part, Hong Kong has benefited greatly from its proximity to China, particularly in recent years as China has opened up more to the West and to foreign business. Since 1971, Hong Kong's economy has posted real growth of 163 percent.

The links of mutual economic dependency have been increasing of late. Last month, for instance, Peking approved the plan for a nuclear power plant to be built jointly by a major Chinese utility and Hong Kong's China Light and Power Company. At an estimated cost of \$4 billion, the giant plant in the Shenzhen special economic zone north of Hong Kong will be the largest foreign investment project in China to date.

Deng Xiaoping, who runs China now, has employed a dictum to reflect the current economic pragmatism in Peking: "It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white so long as it catches mice." Hong Kong catches mice, which is why China is likely to be inclined to find some face-saving way to leave it alone.



Will the People's Republic continue to allow free market flash next door?

After Four Decades of Socialism, Sweden Is Still Very Capitalist

Palme's Victory Could Make 'Middle Way' Just a Memory

By R. W. APPLE

STOCKHOLM — On Sept. 13, just a week before the Swedish elections, a man called Marcus Wallenberg died at the age of 82. He had been the dominant figure in this country's commercial life, with interests in banks, hotels and industry, including Saab, the car manufacturer, SKF, the ball-bearing maker, Electrolux, Ericsson, the telecommunications giant, and Atlas Copco, the toolmaker.

Mr. Wallenberg had put together his empire in a country governed during his most active years by the Social Democratic Party. He accommodated himself to the welfare state, to powerful trade unions and to Sweden's left-wing reputation abroad. He was one of the creators of what the journalist Marquis Childs later christened "The Middle Way" — the socialism carried on in Sweden from 1932 to 1976 without much nationalization. Corporations paid high taxes to help finance welfare programs and they had to reckon with the power of the trade-union confederation. But ownership was left in the hands of the capitalists, and relatively few of them at that.

Italy, Germany and France, which had mostly right-wing governments during the same period, have more state-owned industries than Sweden. Sweden's private sector is, in fact, almost as large as America's and it has relatively few stockholders. According to a recent study, 89 percent of Swedish households own not so much as a single share while a little over 1 percent of the households control three-quarters of all the nation's stocks.

Now, despite a multi-million dollar campaign against him by businessmen, which Mr. Wallenberg did not join, Olof Palme, the 55-year-old Social Democratic leader, has been returned to office as Prime Minister on a platform that promises to change the system through a scheme to use what are known as employee or wage-earner funds to finance the partial and indirect nationalization of most Swedish industries.

It is clear that Mr. Wallenberg's influence will be missed as Swedish businessmen, on the defensive, try to come to terms not only with the funds issue but also with Mr. Palme's determination to resist the formula advocated elsewhere in Scandinavia for dealing with the current global recession: a modified form of the Thatcher/Reagan tactic of cutting welfare benefits and deflating the economy. Although hoping through close cooperation with the trade unions, to avoid big wage increases and thus a new round of inflation, the Prime Minister-elect is determined to pour Government funds into job-creating industries and even to increase taxes for that purpose.

Paradoxically, the Swedish Socialists under Mr. Palme, perhaps the most rigorously left-wing of Western Europe's Socialist parties, have assigned the stock market, the heart of capitalism, a central role in their plan to

break up private dominance in the business world. The transition to collective ownership is to be brought about through open purchases on the Stockholm exchange or through direct offers to unlisted companies. The money would be raised through new payroll and excess-profits taxes.

"There would be no overnight compulsory socialization as in France," says Hans L. Zetterberg, one of Sweden's leading political scientists. "Nor would there be a central agency for state-held shares as in France, but rather several regionally based funds."

In that sense, what Mr. Palme is advocating is evolutionary rather than revolutionary. And despite the shrill tone of much of the anti-fund campaign conducted by Swedish business, there is no evidence that Mr. Palme has any intention of installing an Eastern European political or social system in Sweden.

Some of the asperity of the business campaign and some of the public fears may stem from confusion over exactly what the funds entail. How much would they control and how soon, for example? One of Mr. Palme's closest advisers said before the election that they would hold a majority of shares in major businesses within four or five years. The next day, Mr. Palme said that by the 1990's, 10 to 15 percent of shares would be in the hands of the funds.

Who would control them? The trade unions want their own representatives to be guaranteed places on the governing boards, but Mr. Palme wants general elections to choose special bodies that would appoint boards for collectively owned companies.

These issues will have to be sorted out over the next three years, and it appears likely that the details will be the principal subject of the 1985 elections. How the Social Democrats fare then, however, will probably depend more on their short-term management of the economy. The coalition of two non-socialist parties, the Liberals and the Centrists, lost this time not because of the popularity of the funds (a majority of the electorate in fact opposes them, according to the polls) but because of the public conviction that the non-socialists had missed their great chance to turn the economy around.

United Press International
Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden.

Mr. Palme begins with the comforting knowledge that his party is in harmony with the electorate in arguing that the welfare system must be maintained at all costs. The Social Democrats are also the party that most Swedes believe can solve the growing problem of unemployment, a particularly sensitive issue in a country that for decades had to import foreign workers.

So Mr. Palme begins next month on the same rough track that has made life miserable of late for France's President François Mitterrand and West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, to say nothing of leaders in smaller Western countries. He must find a way to boost investment, cut unemployment, restrain foreign borrowing and control inflation. It is hard to see how he can succeed, but it is certain he will try methods different from those of anyone else.

BROADWAY 80

i'm glad I changed...

Planning a trip to Egypt? This book tells you where to go, what to see and what not to see! Flight schedules to and from Ben Gurion Airport, restaurant guide, historical background (including the history of Egypt's Jewish community). Helpful hints include: where to find a kosher restaurant in Cairo; how much bottled water to buy per day; how to read hieroglyphics; when to find a direct telephone line to Israel. The slim, easy-to-carry volume includes maps, drawings and colour photographs.

Published by Carra and The Jerusalem Post. 83 pages, paperback, illustrated.

IS 159

The Economy

Critics say bold changes are needed, but the next Government is expected to mimic old ways.

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

WHEN West Germans returned home earlier this month to the cloudy skies of Hanover and Frankfurt from their sunny summer vacation spots in Greece and Spain, there was an unmistakable air of apprehension and nervousness about the country's future. For many, that uneasiness was something of a tradition, reflecting the tendency of bankers and businessmen in Germany to play down their prospects for the coming year. This time, however, things were different.

Nearly 1.8 million people were out of work in August, pushing the unemployment rate to 7.4 percent, the highest in 30 years. Industrial production, beset by a nagging world recession, was down sharply. And bankruptcies, once almost negligible, were sweeping the nation. But perhaps most telling was the financial collapse—under a mountain of debt—of AEG-Telefunken, the big electrical company that symbolized the country's postwar economic resilience.

What has now become painfully clear is that the German miracle—the remarkable economic growth that the country managed to maintain after its recovery from the ruins of World War II—has come to a shocking halt. Less clear, however, is what needs to be done to return the country to its pre-eminence—or indeed, simply to move it out of its current quagmire into a period of sustained growth. Some argue that the Government should cut back Federal spending; others insist it should do more for workers, and still others want Government to help out industry.

The weight of the country's problems, which crushed any consensus about what to do, has created a situation for Germany that is far more traumatic than the recession that has hobbled growth in Western Europe and the United States in recent years. Just last week the divisiveness within the German political system over budget deficits and other noneconomic matters resulted in the fall of Bonn's 13-year-old coalition and the Social Democratic-led Government of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Four ministers of the small Free Democratic Party, the junior partner in the coalition, pulled out. They declared they would seek a coalition with the Christian Democrats, their former foes, leading to what some analysts initially concluded might be a significant shift to the right and away from the welfare state policies that have long guided Germany's economy.

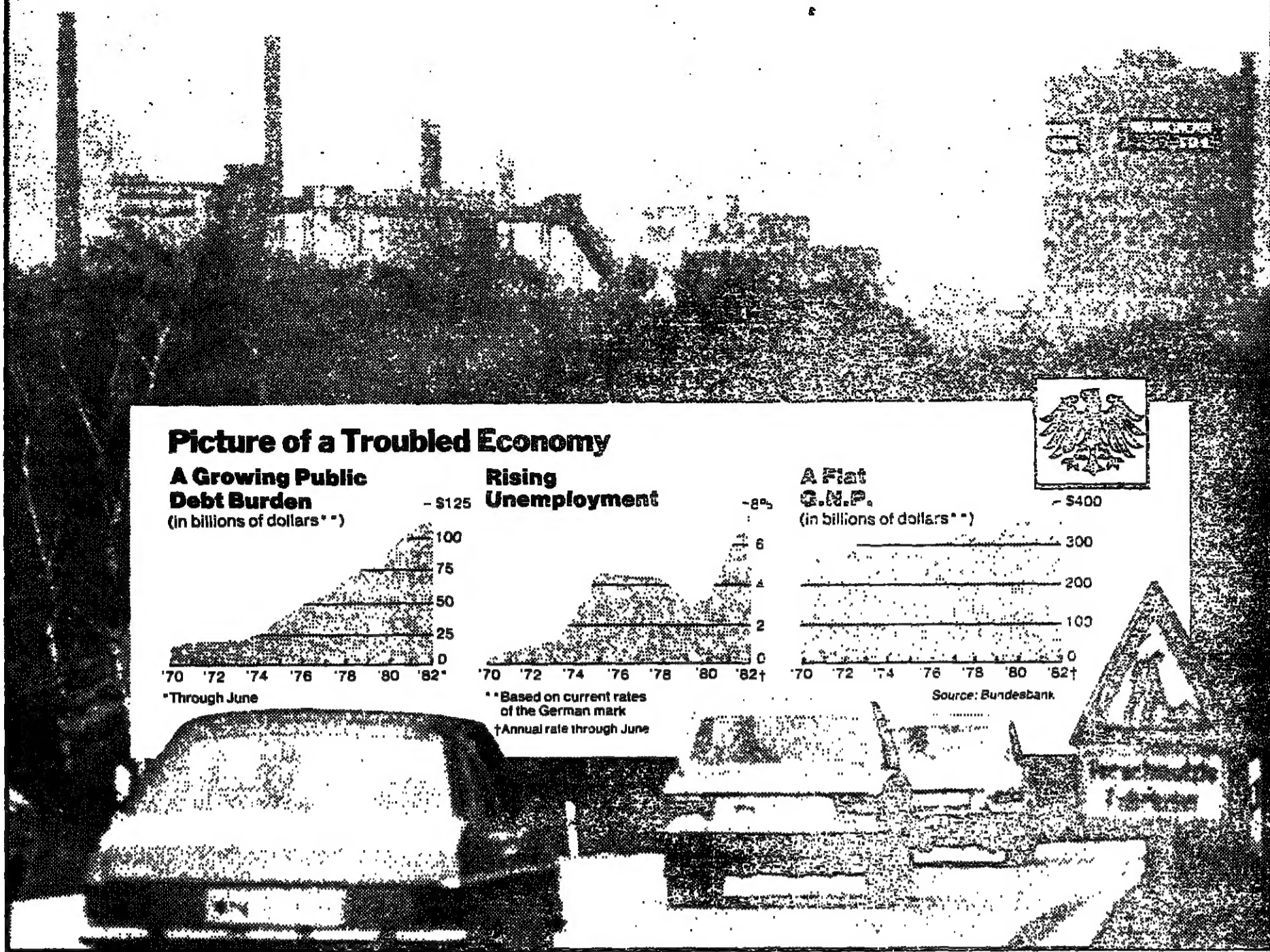
But as the broad lines of a new policy have begun to emerge, it is increasingly clear that the evolving Christian Democrat-led Government, while it will have a more conservative bent, is not likely to make major changes in the way the German economy operates, crushing the hopes of economists who feel that the national mood would support substantive reform of West Germany's deficit-financed welfare state.

"A reversal is necessary," said Karl Schiller, the 71-year-old former Government minister, who was an early architect of Social Democratic economic policy and who is now a senior figure in German economic thinking. "The source of the problem is the extraordinary increase in the Government share of gross national product. Our wages and social costs, as a result of Social Democratic generosity, are enormously inflated. While we are far from Swedish or British conditions, the reality is clear."

Still, like most German economists, Mr. Schiller rejects the harsh budget-cutting measures associated with the Reagan Administration's early efforts to revive the United States economy, or the fiscal policies of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Cautioning that sharp Government spending cuts can lead to full-scale depression, Mr. Schiller said Germany must dramatically alter its spending priorities. He has urged the Government to pare mercilessly the welfare programs that have been written into the Federal budget and that have caused what he calls "structural deficits." But he also advocates increased Government spending and, if necessary, borrowing, to overhaul and modernize German industry.

Other economists, such as Werner Glatz, chief of the five so-called wise men, the panel of economists that advises the Government, would have the Bundesbank, the country's central bank, lower interest rates to spur industrial investment. He said that the strong Deutsche mark, which was revalued upward against most European currencies in recent months, and the virtual disappearance

Germany's Quest for a New Miracle



A steel mill in the Saarland, near Cologne, West Germany

this year of Germany's troubling balance of payments deficit, also afforded room for a "more expansive fiscal policy."

Such proposals, however, are detested by a small but vocal group of conservative economists who argue that these remedies, all essentially rooted in the welfare state model, are insufficient and that Germany must search for new tools to solve the economy's fundamental problems. They argue that the problems are best demonstrated by the rapid expansion of social programs, which now cost Government and employers some 60 percent of the hourly wage, up from 40 percent in the 1960's, and advocate a return to the free market—little to no Government aid for industry combined with sharp reductions in social expenditures.

Ironically, they contend, the fundamental economic policy consensus that nurtured Germany's postwar reconstruction and prosperity has made it difficult for the Government to seek essentially new solutions to fundamental problems.

Indeed, these economists contend that the Social Democratic Government not only generated economic problems, but has bred a new generation of Germans that is opposed to industrial growth. Testimony to this, they argue, is the rise of the Green Party, a coalition of left-wing groups with interests ranging from the environment to arms control. The Greens now have seats in six state parliaments and are likely to replace the Free Democrats as the third party in German politics at the next election.

The collapse of Mr. Schmidt's Government last week came against the backdrop of a widespread conviction that the intractability of the country's economic problems is, at least in part, a result of the economic policies of the last 13 years. The spread of the Government sector and the sharp rise in the cost of welfare programs, it is argued, have dangerously squeezed the savings of the nation's industries. The prolonged world recession and continuing high interest rates heightened the crunch, producing the unprecedented number of bankruptcies—nearly 13,000—and hampering investment by survivors in the new products that will guarantee a rebound when the economic gloom lifts.

Last week, a report commissioned by Otto Lambsdorff, the Economics Minister under Mr. Schmidt and who is expected to hold the same position in the new Government, showed that the investment quota for industry expressed as a percentage of gross national product had declined from an annual average of 24.1 percent in the mid-1960's to 20.8 percent in 1981. At the same time Government spending expressed as a percentage of G.N.P. rose to 49.5 percent from 39 percent.

Equally troublesome, West Germany's public sector debt tripled in the 1970's, to the equivalent of \$231.3 billion, and the growth has continued into the 1980's. While total borrowing still accounts for a smaller percentage of gross national product than in, say, Britain or the United States, the pace at which borrowing has increased unsettles economists and worries German voters, who recall or have been told how unbundled deficit spending to pay for two world wars caused the nation's economy to collapse totally twice in this century.

Criticizing the Social Democrats' unbroken commitment to the welfare state, Rolf Dahrendorf, a West German who is director of the London School of Economics and a former active Free Democrat, said recently that the Social Democrats would "rather go down with the welfare state, than to rethink its fundamentals."

But the welfare state, other economists note, is not a monopoly of West Germany's Social Democrats. "The foundations of the welfare state were placed in the 1950's, under Christian Democratic governments," said Norbert Walter, an outspoken conservative economist at the Institute of the World Economy at the University of Kiel.

"There is merely a gradual difference between what Christian Democrats and Social Democrats have accomplished," he contends. "The first step toward the present system was taken in 1957, when the Christian Democrats linked old-age pensions to the level of gross wages. That was long before Social Democrats governed."

The most pernicious effect of welfare state thinking, economists like Mr. Walter believe, has been the deterioration of the entrepreneurial ethic that helped found postwar prosperity.

"Our society is sated and frustrated, and bewails its youth, who make social demands that are sheer unfulfillable. They have forgotten that only effort achieves goals," he said.

Middle-of-the-road economists, like Mr. Schiller, sense a similar decline, though they are less sure of its characteristics and its causes.

"There is something to all that," Mr. Schiller acknowledged. "On the part of our corporations, there are signs of flailing. Dynamic company founders have grown seldom. There is an unhealthy trend to concentration, of which AEG was a good example. Self-fabricated problems abound because of a trend toward wild agglomeration of smaller companies by the big. Company policy-setting boards have grown less effective. I find that regenerative force has diminished."

But big European companies have faced other difficult problems throughout the years. In the 1970's corporate profits came under heavy pressure from the rising cost of imported raw materials, above all oil. That burden was heightened by double-digit annual wage agreements, costly environmental measures mandated by the government, and by corporate tax increases to pay for social programs. The squeeze became more acute after 1980, when Germany's central bank pushed up the cost of borrowed money to match high American interest rates.

German businessmen, confronted with the high cost of borrowing and a low return on business investment, increasingly moved their money into fixed-interest securities or invested it abroad in more profitable markets, such as the United States.

At the same time, a combination of less easily definable factors caused a research slump that dulled the competitive edge of German technology. Some blamed it on depressed profits that freed less money for industrial research. Others said the decline of Germany's universities was at fault. The Social Democrat-led Government drastically expanded the university system and opened it to traditional underprivileged groups, at the price, many said, of traditional quality.

Others said it was the result of creeping bureaucracy in the nation's biggest, most research-intensive companies.

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Consumer Prices Up 0.3% in August

Consumer prices rose only 0.3 percent in August, the Labor Department said, indicating that the inflation rate could slow to the lowest level in six years and less than half the rate set in 1979 and 1980. Monthly rises of about .04 percent are generally predicted for the rest of the year, which would result in a 4.5 percent annual rate.

The gross national product grew at a 2.1 percent annual rate in the second quarter, the Commerce Department said. For the third quarter, the Department's "flash" estimate showed a 1.5 percent growth rate in G.N.P.

Factory orders for durable goods fell 4 percent in August, the biggest drop since October, the Commerce Department said. July figures were adjusted downward, from a rise of 4 percent to a gain of only 2.5 percent.

Personal income grew by 0.3 percent in August, the smallest monthly gain since March, while after-tax disposable income rose just 0.2 percent, the Commerce Department said.

Xerox plans to acquire Crum & Forster, a property and casualty insurer, for \$1.6 billion in cash and stock. The company also introduced a new family of copiers, the "10" series, which will eventually replace its entire product line. Xerox said that de-

Allied's Merger With Bendix

The Allied Corporation, whose chairman and chief executive is Edward L. Hennessy Jr., (right), has acquired the Bendix Corporation and freed the Martin Marietta Corporation from a costly takeover battle. The move ended the most bizarre takeover fight in American corporate history. Under the deal, Allied will retain roughly a 38 percent interest in Marietta, but it agreed not to take the company over for the next 10 years. In another crucial phase of the settlement, Marietta and Bendix will swap the stock that each owns in the other and drop all litigation. Allied agreed to pay \$85 a share—in stock and fixed income securities—for the Bendix shares still in public hands.



spite its financial services interests, copiers were still its main business.

Striking railroad engineers were ordered by Congress to accept a new contract and return to work. President Reagan, in signing the bill, said the country could not afford the economic hardship of a prolonged strike.

The nation's money supply fell \$1.3 billion in the week ending Sept. 15, to \$460.6 billion, the Federal Reserve Board reported.

Japan's largest bank, and the world's ninth largest, Dai-ichi Kangyo, said it had lost \$38.5 million in foreign exchange dealings.

Peking granted permission to Atlantic Richfield and Santa Fe International to start drilling for oil in a 3,500-square-mile block of the South China Sea. It was the first such approval of a proposal from an American company.

A long-term capital gains tax break for investors was killed by the Senate. The legislation would have allowed investors to take a tax break on profits from securities and other assets held for six months. The law now requires a one-year holding period.

The Common Market ordered cutbacks in steel output, predicting that steel consumption in its member nations would fall in the fourth quarter.

Car sales rose 16.5 percent in the mid-September selling period, the first year-to-year increase since early June, the Big Three auto makers reported. Chrysler had the biggest gain, with sales rising 44 percent.

Conoco plans to sell 29 domestic oil and gas fields to Petro-Lewis for \$772 million. Du Pont, Conoco's parent, said the sale was the first major step in a planned \$2 billion divestment of Conoco assets.

F. W. Woolworth Co. will close its 336 Woolco discount stores because of persistent losses.

The New York Stock Exchange									
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS									
WEEK ENDED SEPT. 24, 1982									
Company	Sales	Last	Prev.	Week	High	Low	Net Chg	Vol	Yr To Date
IBM	5,878,000	78	75	+ 1%	78	75	+ 1%	1,214	1,214
FedEx	4,593,000	14	14	+ 1%	14	14	+ 1%	782	782
ATT	3,970,700	80	80	+ 1%	80	80	+ 1%	2,125	2,125
Citibank	3,384,500	23	23	+ 1%	23	23	+ 1%	535	535
Kodak	3,859,300	53	53	+ 1%	53	53	+ 1%	17	17
Exxon	3,725,400	27	27	+ 1%	27	27	+ 1%	17	17
Texaco	3,648,100	28	28	+ 1%	28	28	+ 1%	17	17
Sears	3,534,900	24	24	+ 1%	24	24	+ 1%	17	17
Cum F.	3,472,700	48	48	+ 1%	48	48	+ 1%	17	17
Genit	2,826,300	28	28	+ 1%	28	28	+ 1%	17	17
G.W.	2,500,700	43	43	+ 1%	43	43	+ 1%	17	17
Tenby	2,375,100	23	23	+ 1%	23	23	+ 1%	17	17
Kmart	2,345,800	22	22	+ 1%	22	22	+ 1%	17	17
Am Hqs	2,602,400	25	25	+ 1%	25	25	+ 1%	17	17
Wolter	2,444,400	25	25	+ 1%	25	25	+ 1%	17	17
MARKET DIARY									
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	Net Highs	Net Lows	High	Low	Net Chg	Vol	Yr To Date
1,055	752	2,125	535	17	78	75	+ 0.25	1,214	1,214
72	36	40	72	36	40	72	+ 0.04	36	36
41.03	36.88	40.72	41.03	36.88	40.72	41.03	+ 0.83	71	71
7.93	69.51	71.18	7.93	69.51	71.18	7.93	+ 1.19	69	69
72.31	69.76	70.75	72.31	69.76	70.75	72.31	+ 0.41	69	69
VOLUME									
(4 P.M. New York Close)									
Total Sales	377,342,950	10,514,224,402	377,342,950	10,514,224,402	377,342,950	10,514,224,402	377,342,950	10,514,224,402	377,342,950
Same Per. 1981	237,551,580	8,755,373,060	237,551,580	8,755,373,060	237,551,580	8,755,373,060	237,551,580	8,755,373,060	237,551,580
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES									
High	Low	Last	Net Chg	Vol	Yr To Date	High	Low	Last	Net Chg
78.71	70.53	78.71	+ 0.25	1,214	1,214	78.71	70.53	78.71	+ 0.25
52.84	60.13	52.84	+ 0.04	36	36	52.84	60.13	52.84	+ 0.04
41.03	36.88	41.03	+ 0.83	71	71	41.03	36.88	41.03	+ 0.83
7.93	69.51	7.93	+ 1.19	69	69	7.93	69.51	7.93	+ 1.19
72.31	69.76	72.31	+ 0.41	69	69	72.31	69.76	72.31	+ 0.41
The American Stock Exchange									
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS									
WEEK ENDED SEPT. 24, 1982									
Company	Sales	Last	Prev.	Week	High	Low	Net Chg	Vol	Yr To Date
Dow Jones	3,542,400	41	41	+ 1%	41	41	+ 1%	1,214	1,214
Wang B.	994,800	38	38	+ 1%	38	38	+ 1%	782	782
Amth	482,200	28	28	+ 1%	28	28	+ 1%	2,125	2,125
Sung O	400,800	5	5	+ 1%	5	5	+ 1%	782	782
Citic	314,200	13	13	+ 1%	13	13	+ 1%	2,125	2,125
KeyH	312,500	26	26	+ 1%	26	26	+ 1%	782	782
GrCo	311,400	13	13	+ 1%	13	13	+ 1%	2,125	2,125
ChmPh	308,900	3	3	+ 1%	3	3	+ 1%	782	782
EvonAr	299,100	17	17	+ 1%	17	17	+ 1%	2,125	2,125
MOHd	259,300	12	12	+ 1%	12	12	+ 1%	782	782
MARKET DIARY									
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	Net Highs	Net Lows	High	Low	Net Chg	Vol	Yr To Date
400	340	917	91	84	19	15	15	15	15
400	340	917	91	84	19	15	15	15	15
400	340	917	91	84	19	15	15	15	15
400	340	917	91	84	19	15	15	15	15
400	340	917	91	84	19	15	15	15	15
VOLUME									
(4 P.M. New York Close)									
Total Sales	25,048,855	614,288,250	25,048,855	614,288,250	25,048,855	614,288,250	25,048,855	614,288,250	25,048,855
Same Per. 1981	30,094,820	1,020,978,080	30,094,820	1,020,978,080	30,094,820	1,020,978,080	30,094,820	1,020,978,080	30,094,820

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Israel's Soul, and Security

To its credit, Israel is in turmoil. Whatever the profit to its enemies, however great the hypocrisy of many of its critics, it is a society that refuses to let its leaders avert their eyes from the blood of innocent Palestinians. Along with pained friends the world over, Israelis are struggling to hold their government to standards that no one, in seven years, demanded of Christian and Moslem murderers in Lebanon. Even as Prime Minister Begin and General Sharon hurl back the ugly charge of treason, waves of Israelis, including soldiers, are spurred by horror and shame to assert their humanity.

That fact is the essential starting place for all who look back upon Sabra and Shatila for instruction in the meaning of responsibility. Mr. Begin's defiant refusal to take any blame, or even to submit to independent inquiry, has gravely compounded the damage to Israel's reputation — and security. General Sharon's inadequate accountings have only stimulated streams of conflicting testimony about every detail of his Lebanese operation — as impressively compiled in today's Times by Thomas Friedman. But the most anguished responses are also coming out of Israel, and they have been tellingly summarized by our colleague, David Shipper:

"No one suggests that Israeli troops participated in the massacre. But to a country that rose out of Hitler's death camps, the answers 'We did not do it' and 'We did not know' are not enough."

Nor will it be enough for Israel's leaders grudgingly to confess "errors of judgment." The misjudgments that made Israel even an unwitting accessory to Phalangist barbarity are of a piece with the mis-

guided policy of fighting terror with terror. It all has its roots in what Mr. Shipper calls a "siege mentality" — a state of mind that makes every national ambition a matter of national survival and confuses serious disagreement with betrayal.

A largely hostile world bears its share of responsibility for sustaining that mentality. Even now, statesmen and a pope honor the killers of Israeli children while condemning Israel for collaborating with the killers of Palestinian children. On Friday, a coalition of Communist and Arab nations voted, obscenely, to expel Israel from a U.N. agency for "genocide." On Tuesday, Jordan's King Hussein, the sponsor of the Palestinians' "Black September" in 1970, said he could never negotiate with Israel's "master terrorist."

Thus it is that General Sharon equates criticism with treachery and Mr. Begin accuses his opposition of exploiting a tragedy for political gain. Yet the inescapable truth is that Israel's leaders stumbled into tragedy and tried to hide from it. And their reasons are political, not military: to shape the politics of Lebanon and to cling to power until they have made Israeli domination of the West Bank's Palestinians irreversible.

As the most formidable military power in the Middle East, unstintingly supported by America, Israel's struggle for security has reached the point where politics and diplomacy can replace combat. But it has also been shown how policies that deny the humanity of Palestinians, and seek to dominate them, directly threaten Israel's inner strength and American support. The cries of conscience from Israelis and their foreign friends pertain to Israel's safety as well as its soul.

Black and White

"I went to white schools," says Susie Guillory Phipps, "was raised white, and married white twice. I am white."

Mrs. Phipps, a New Orleans mother of two, is proclaiming her race because five years ago when she applied for a passport she discovered that her birth records list her race as "colored."

She is suing to have her birth certificate changed and is challenging a Louisiana state law that requires the designation of race on birth documents. The law specifies that anyone with one-thirty-second black ancestry is black.

Authorities in Louisiana have traced Mrs. Phipps's ancestry to an 18th century French settler who had a white wife and a black mistress. The mistress, Margarita, was the wife's slave. When the wife died, ownership of Margarita passed to a son. The Frenchman tried to reclaim his mistress, and father and son became embroiled in a legal contest that left excellent records of Mrs. Phipps's lineage.

The case is not unusual in Louisiana, where French and Spanish settlers often fathered the children of black women. The children of racially mixed relationships formed a large part of the state's "free

people of color," who eventually would be accepted as a separate caste afforded more privileges than blacks, but fewer than whites. Some of the descendants of the interracial unions choose to live as whites; others live as blacks. Indeed, some of Mrs. Phipps's relatives say they are black, though they are as light-skinned as she is.

The business of race classification is hardly scientific. Anthropologists say the average white person in the United States has five percent traceable black genes; the average black person has 25 percent traceable white genes. Ideally, Mrs. Phipps should be allowed to call herself whatever she wants. Yet designating race can be useful in efforts to eradicate the harmful effects of discrimination. Until those effects are no longer apparent in society, some distinctions are desirable.

What is most offensive about the Louisiana law, and racial typing anywhere, is its extreme bias in favor of whites. If society must make a distinction, at least let it split the difference evenly: a person is white if 51 percent white, black if 51 percent black. And let us move as quickly as possible toward the day when any distinction is no longer useful.

Prayer Was Not the Issue

For all their talk about staging a full Senate debate on school prayer, Senator Helms and his small band of court-strippers never held up their end. Save for a few verbal insults, it was the opponents who, with their filibuster, managed to identify the real issue. It was not prayer, nor morality, but a sneak attack on the Federal courts to remove them as a bulwark for religious liberty.

The only thing the Helms measure had to do with praying in school was to say that neither the Supreme Court nor lower Federal courts could rule on such matters. The scheme was to foment defiance of rulings that state-sponsored religious exercises are an unconstitutional aid to religion. The assumption was that state courts would then uphold such exercises, rather than the Bill of Rights, an assumption that insults the integrity of those courts.

This end run around the Constitution might have worked if senators had lacked the courage and stamina to occupy the floor and hold the proposal up to

the light long enough for all to appreciate its sleaziness. Meanwhile more and more senators also learned what even the Reagan White House has come to recognize, that most voters care much more about the economy than the so-called "social issues" agenda.

Filibusters have often been educational. During the civil rights debates of the 1960's, segregationists tied up the Senate in talk, calling themselves sentinels alerting the nation to a tyrannical majority. They did alert the country — to their own racial hatred — whereupon a revolted Senate broke their filibuster. The talkathon about court-stripping was no less educational and a disgusted Senate again did the right thing: buried the bill.

Senator Moynihan may be premature to exult that "We have broken the radical right." But surely the court-strippers have been exposed. Barren of ideas, inept, nowhere near 10 feet tall, they can be beaten cleanly on a matter of high principle.

Topics

Hope Springs Eternal

Water Proof

The ancient craft of dowsing, or water divining, is on the upswing. Some 2,700 people now belong to the American Society of Dowsers, which last week held its annual meeting in Danville, Vt. Why has dowsing become so popular?

Well, it's exciting. You walk along holding your cleft stick out in front of you, waiting for the Force to strike when you cross the path of subterranean streams. Suddenly the stick twitches upward. A hole is dug at the point where your uncanny powers have divined water.

A dowsing at last week's convention said he had advised 750 New Englanders where to drill wells, of whom 700 had found water. Such success stories are intriguing, but there's a problem: dowsing is almost invulnerable to disproof. If water is found where a

dowsing indicates, his prediction is confirmed; if not, he can assert the hole should have been dug deeper.

But that's not to pour cold water; maybe dowsing is for real. If so, the water diviners would surely be more challenged by holding their annual dowsing in a desert region like Arizona rather than in the well-watered hills of New England.

Ai Fang Calling

We're sorry they aren't going to have the thrill of that bell whose bing-bong precedes a cheery "Avon calling." (House calls were found to be impractical.) We're sorry, too, that all they'll be able to buy is a moisture cream called Ai Fang, or Love Fragrance, rather than a full range of miracle products. But we're not sorry to realize that in opening an Avon fac-

tory in Peking the Chinese bow to a universal truth: People love to spruce themselves up.

Sometimes in prehistory, somebody tied a hunk of vine around the hair that kept flopping in his — or maybe it was her — eyes. At that moment the beauty business was born — and grew with each passerby who noticed that a little twine does a lot for one's looks. After that, could shirts instead of skins and makeup instead of mud be far behind? And isn't the world a better place for all of it? If to destroy is human, then to decorate is divine.

As for Avon's announcement that Ai Fang is "a very useful product in this climate" — it probably is. But if the issue were only skin protection from Peking's dry, windy winters, a spot of lard might do the job. No. The Chinese crave what's provided by every cosmetic ever compounded: not necessarily beauty, but the hope of it.

Letters

Beirut Massacre: 'Time to Speak With Force'

To the Editor:

This is the time to speak with force and clarity against the massacre of Palestinians in West Beirut.

The available evidence suggests beyond a reasonable doubt that this was the work of Christian extremists, with the Israeli Army as an accessory before the fact.

Those of us Lebanese-Americans who wept over the P.L.O. massacre of our people at Damur and who strongly supported the Christians in their struggle for survival must now speak with equal fervor against the inhumanity of some of our compatriots. Jewish Americans should join the wise counsel of Anthony Lewis in admonishing Israel to be true to its ideals [column Sept. 20]. Such actions as occurred are within neither the Christian nor the Jewish moral codes.

Both Christians and Israelis have departed from their ethical teachings and even from their humanity in heaping so much death and destruction on a largely defenseless people. Peaceful survival of Christianity and Judaism in an Arab world will ultimately rest not on force of arms but on acceptance of these two minorities by the vast Moslem population that surrounds them.

The actions at West Beirut are a cause for shame on all of us and a spring of hatred that will not be stilled for generations to come.

MICHAEL S. SAHADY
Fall River, Mass., Sept. 20, 1982

To the Editor:

In his plays, Shakespeare put words of truth and wisdom into the mouths of fools and villains. In "Hamlet," Polonius speaks the lines: "To thine own self be true." Iago, in "Othello," says: "Good name, in man or woman, dear my lord, is the most glorious jewel of the soul."

So Yasir Arafat remarked: "Begin and Sharon are not Jews. The crimes they commit do not conform to Jewish morality or tradition..." (Flora Lewis's Sept. 21 column).

For once I must agree with Arafat. If Israel is to become Israel once again, it must atone for its present leadership. For American Jews not to do the same is to disgrace the pro-



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phetic heritage of Judaism and make a mockery of the ideals that we claim to espouse. At the same time, the Pope and all Christians as well should join in atonement for the atrocities committed by the so-called Christian Phalangists.

(Rabbi) ROBERT E. GOLDBERG
Hamden, Conn., Sept. 21, 1982

To the Editor:

In the rush to find scapegoats for the brutal massacre of civilians in Beirut, it is curious to note that Sharon, Begin and Israel are the only candidates: no one has called for the punishment of the Christian militia murderers.

East Timor Needs the World's Attention

To the Editor:

As sponsors of legislation expressing Congressional concern about the current humanitarian and political situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, we were pleased that The Times again is focusing on the suffering on this island territory (A.P. dispatch, Aug. 25). While the article is a positive contribution to understanding some of East Timor's problems, there were a few omissions that we would like to bring to your attention.

Indonesian rule over East Timor was imposed by tens of thousands of invading troops. It is generally acknowledged that at least 100,000 persons, of an original population of 600,000, have perished from the effects of the invasion; responsible church sources in this largely Roman Catholic territory say the death toll may have exceeded 250,000.

Although food problems did exist under Portuguese colonial rule, difficulties since the Indonesian invasion of 1975 are not merely traditional, as the article appeared to imply. It was only after the invasion that the territory faced food crises on the scale of Biafra and Cambodia, which occurred from 1978 through 1980 and have been attributed by eyewitnesses primarily to Indonesia's military campaign to crush resistance to its rule.

In late 1981, the Vatican's East Timor representative, Msgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, said that Indonesian military operations had once again dis-

rupted farming and might result in a renewal of serious food shortages. In an A.P. article published abroad in July 1982, he was quoted as saying that he is refraining from comment on the current situation because he "was muzzled by [Indonesian] officials, who warned him of the consequences to his missionaries if he spoke out."

Other first-hand accounts in recent months indicate that life-threatening food shortages may again be facing the East Timorese, in at least some parts of the territory. We believe that it is crucial for the world's news media to conduct an in-depth investigation throughout East Timor to determine what is happening.

Finally, we noted with interest that the A.P. article was datelined "Dili, Indonesia." This reference is an implicit acknowledgement that East Timor is legally a part of Indonesia — a position that has been rejected annually by the U.N. General Assembly.

Accordingly, our legislation urges the Administration to set in motion discussions that can lead to the initiation of a process leading to authentic self-determination for the people of East Timor. The legislation also stresses the need for increased access to East Timor by international relief organizations, journalists and human rights groups.

TONY P. HALL
Member of Congress, 3d Dist., Ohio
PAUL E. TSONGAS
U.S. Senator from Massachusetts
Washington, Sept. 14, 1982

Banking on Air-Pollution Credits

To the Editor:

In their Sept. 11 Op-Ed article, "Air-Pollution 'Rights,'" Bruce Ackerman and Donald Elliott argue that the "Reagan" E.P.A.'s proposals for tradable emission-reduction credits are an enormous giveaway of public resources to "the largest industrial corporations." Only in their closing exhortation of Congress to rethink the Clean Air Act itself do they even hint at the complex reality behind this giveaway.

The Clean Air Act — not the Environmental Protection Agency (Reagan or otherwise) — gives away the right to pollute. Environmental enthusiasm and political reality led legislators in the 1970's to opt for a complex system for regulating pollution based on ambient air quality and discharge-control technology.

The results, for existing polluters, were permits to emit particular quantities of pollutants. These permits do not cost the polluters anything beyond the costs of reducing discharges to permitted levels.

Under the original regulations, no new sources of pollution could be built where ambient standards are being violated. Under the Ford Administration, the E.P.A. saw the long-run political folly of such an absolute prohibition and began working on the idea of allowing existing sources to trade their "rights" to new sources.

Since 1976, and largely under the Carter E.P.A., this idea has been expanded to include trading among existing sources and banking of emission reduction credits for later use or trade.

The Reagan E.P.A., initially cool to this regulatory relaxation, is only a recent convert. Many people inside and outside Government are enthusi-

astic about even this limited reform (limited because many of the old technology-based constraints remain) because it raises the possibility that polluters will recognize the true costs of using their "free" permits.

That is, a polluting firm that can cheaply meet its permit terms now has no incentive to go below the permitted level. But if the permit is a tradable "right," then a firm with higher compliance costs may be willing to buy part of that right. Total discharges would not change, but the ambient quality would be achieved more cheaply.

Ackerman and Elliott seem to want a system that would reverse the 1970's decision to give away the right to pollute in the first place. The details of any such system would determine whether it provided the same, better or worse air quality and whether it provided that quality as cheaply as possible. But any system involving payments by polluters for the discharges they are allowed would represent a politically difficult break with the environmental legislation of the 1970's.

Not President Reagan and Mrs. Gorbuch but Senator Muskie gave us that legislation. A charitable view would be that the tradable rights idea makes a poor system slightly better.

CLIFFORD S. RUSSELL
Senior Fellow
Resources for the Future
Washington, Sept. 14, 1982

The world's politicians and news media ought to recall that nations often have difficulty in controlling the actions of their own soldiers, as the U.S. did when Americans, led by a lieutenant, massacred Vietnamese civilians at My Lai on his orders.

I don't recall any nation being held responsible for the killing rampage perpetrated by soldiers of an ally. But, as is often the case, a different standard is applied when Israel and Jews are involved. LEON M. FOX
Framingham, Mass., Sept. 20, 1982

To the Editor:

For years, the nations of the world have, with hearts of stone, witnessed in silence the internecine warfare in Lebanon and Syria. The victims were mostly civilians — men, women and children slaughtered in blind hate.

What awakened the conscience of the world was the massacre in Beirut, which, in itself, was nothing but a repetition of what had been tolerated in silence over the last 10 years.

What, then, motivated the universal outcry of grief and outrage? Was it the realization of some biblical vision that turned the hearts of nations from stone to flesh? How one would like to believe so. Does this chorus speak in terms of peace and good will?

Sadly, no. The full fury of exorcism is directed against the Government of Israel; the actual perpetrators of the heinous crime are not even mentioned. Arafat, the authority on warfare against civilians, is listened to respectfully in his expression of sadness and disbelief about such a depraved act.

What we hear is not the voice of a new moral world; it is the unholy alliance of Israel's enemies.

ALFRED DESSAU
Far Rockaway, N.Y., Sept. 20, 1982

Treaties the Senate Can Take or Leave

To the Editor:

Carl Marcy is in fundamental error if he assumes that the U.S. Constitution somehow imposes an "obligation" on the Senate to vote on treaties negotiated by the Executive [Op-Ed Sept. 15].

There are several aspects of the Constitution's treaty clause that remain vastly vague or ambiguous — e.g., which treaties are self-executing, and what is the difference between a treaty and an executive agreement. But the Senate's role in the making of treaties is fairly well understood.

Treaties are negotiated by the President and the executive branch and, when ratified, are ratified by the President. The Senate enters the picture in its special, extra-Constitutional treaty function if and when the President decides to submit a treaty to the Senate for its advice and consent to its ratification.

True, the Constitution makes the Senate's concurrence, by a two-thirds majority vote, a condition precedent to the President's ratification and thus a check on the Executive's treaty power, but it does not mandate Senate approval or even oblige the taking of a vote. And, as Mr. Marcy points out, the President can choose not to ratify despite Senate consent.

Even after a treaty is sent to the Senate, if the President subsequently indicates non-support for the treaty, it seems perfectly proper for the Senate to move on to other matters. What would be the point of a vote? There are other means for the Senate and its individual members to make known their views on the subject matter covered by the treaty.

All this is not meant to suggest that the machinery for making U.S. treaties — as well as that for implementing, amending and terminating them — should not be examined for possible overhaul. In my view, such an examination is extremely desirable.

Mr. Marcy's proposal that a Senate vote be required on submitted treaties, at least where the President continues to seek the Senate's advice and consent to ratification, might well be a good starting point.

JON L. JACOBSON
Newport, R.I., Sept. 16, 1982

The writer is Charles H. Stockton Professor of International Law at the Naval War College.

Permission Denied

To the Editor:

I think it is really nice that our Government has decided not to allow the sale of electric-shock batons to South Korea because of questions about human-rights violations there (news story Sept. 17).

However, after puzzling over this, I came up with a question: Exactly what level of human rights must be attained before a country is allowed to purchase these instruments of torture from us?

JANE FRANKLIN
Montclair, N.J., Sept. 18, 1982

The New York Times Company
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Most of the headlines and too many television reporters have been calling it a "defeat for conservatism." In fact, the Senate's rejection of the Helms court-stripping bill on school prayer was a signal victory for traditional conservatism with a small "C."

That kind of conservatism places high value on established rules of procedure, on the orderly conduct of public affairs by those rules, and on the traditional values of institutions. The Helms bill (actually a non-germane rider to a measure increasing the public debt limit) would have damaged every one of those concepts; it was about as "conservative" as tearing up a copy of the Constitution on the Senate floor.

Senator Helms, the North Carolina Republican, proposed that Congress remove the issue of school prayer from the jurisdiction of Federal courts. This would have permitted the states and local jurisdictions to pass a patchwork of school prayer laws, interpreting the Constitution as each saw fit, thus flouting the concept of the equal rights of citizens.

The Helms proposal would have prevented the Supreme Court from enforcing its 1962 ruling against prayer in the schools. It would have undermined the authority of Federal courts, particularly the Supreme Court, and it would have opened the door to further Congressional invasions of court jurisdiction and prerogatives.

Worse, the Helms court-stripping plan, had it passed, would have amended the Constitution, in effect, by a majority vote of Congress — a radical evasion of constitutional procedure, which requires two-thirds of each House and three-fourths of the states to effect a constitutional amendment.

Jesse Helms attempted to justify this back-door assault on the courts and constitutionalism by asserting that "the American people want prayer restored to their schools." The polls sug-

IN THE NATION

A Small 'C' Victory

By Tom Wicker

gest that they do, all right; but to a traditional, small-"C" conservative, that would be only one factor to consider and not necessarily the decisive one. Such a conservative surely would not vote to give the public what it wants at the expense of established constitutional procedure and the authority of the Supreme Court.

Quite the opposite; conservatism has always opposed the gratification of public appetites — which may be momentary and unwise — at the sacrifice of such proven values. Conservatives, instead, have taken the lead in devising and maintaining restrictive procedural rules, precisely in order to restrain impatient public opinion. That's why there was a peculiar justice in the use of the Senate's unlimited debate rule to frustrate the Helms court-stripping plan.

The filibuster, so-called, was despised by liberals when Southerners used it to defeat civil rights bills. But eventually the press of events and a slowly-but-surely developing national consensus brought about the needed legislation. But liberals have seldom hesitated to filibuster when they thought it necessary. For as the late Senator Wayne Morse, a master of the art and a former law school dean, used to teach his students: "He who controls procedure, controls substance."

Extended debate in the Senate is an established and legitimate procedure for thwarting an impatient or momentary majority. Its purpose is to stand off the kind of ill-conceived and fundamentally damaging legislation Jesse Helms did his best to impose on the nation in the name of religion and conservatism.

The truth is that small-"C" conservatism has seldom had greater vindication than in the Senate's courageous decision to preserve the integrity of the courts. Nevertheless, Mr. Helms and his cohorts will no doubt take the issue to the electorate this fall in their usual simplistic and misleading fashion — pro-player or anti-player.

In fact, the Senate has not yet reached that issue, however it may be stated. What it has refused to accept is a radical and dangerous method of amending the Constitution, and an unwarranted attack on the Federal courts — a demagogic approach that its sponsors pushed in the Senate because they knew they could not muster the two-thirds majority necessary to approve a constitutional amendment legitimizing prayer in the schools.

Such an amendment, already proposed by President Reagan, is nevertheless the proper instrument for those Americans, conservative or liberal, who "want prayer restored to the public schools." If it can be passed, not only will constitutional procedure have been honored; a strong national consensus, of necessity, will have been formed, and a uniform national standard will have been established.

The question whether such an amendment is wise — whether it would negate an important part of the First Amendment — is something else. I am profoundly opposed; others are as strongly in favor. But that question should and can be settled in the constitutionally prescribed manner; and the Senate, in rejecting Jesse Helms's radical political opportunism, has kept open that possibility.

ENGLEWOOD, N.J. — Menachem Begin may not resign tomorrow or next week, but he has lost the power to govern effectively. A Prime Minister of Israel can survive blunders at home, deep strains with the United States and disagreements within world Jewry. He cannot remain in office if he has squandered Israel's fundamental asset: its respect for itself and the respect of the world.

Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon can no longer govern because they have sullied and divided the armed forces. Israel is not a militaristic country, but the army has a very special place in its life. Everyone, with few exceptions, serves in it and remains in the active reserve, with regular recalls to temporary duty, until well into middle age. From its beginning, the Israel Defense Force has taught the principle of "the purity of arms" — that military operations must be conducted with honor. In July, the most decorated and youngest colo-

nel, Eli Geva, asked for a transfer from the front to avoid having to order actions in Beirut that might harm civilians. The response by Begin and Sharon was to drum him out of the army in semi-disgrace. A high officer who wrote an anonymous article in support of Colonel Geva was tracked down by army intelligence on Sharon's orders and cashiered. Nor would Begin and Sharon listen in August to 2,000 reserve officers who asked for withdrawal from Lebanon and an end to the siege in Beirut.

It is clear now, beyond any doubt, that Sharon soon knew what was going on in the Shatila and Sabra camps and so did some of the highest officers of the army. The head of the staff college, Brig. Gen. Amram Mitzna, has resigned in protest and others will surely follow. Most men and women in the army are like the protesting officers. They are not like the handful who obeyed Sharon's orders to close their eyes last week in Beirut. The Israel Defense Force will not remake it-

Begin Must Go

By Arthur Hertzberg

self in Sharon's image.

Begin and Sharon can no longer govern because they have lost the trust and regard of the moral and political elder statesmen of Israel and of world Jewry. The President, Yitzhak Navon, called on Monday for an independent investigation of the Beirut massacre — two days before the Knesset debate in which Begin categorically rejected the idea as a political assault on his Government. On Thursday, after the Knesset vote, Mr. Navon's request was echoed by his predecessor, Ephraim Katzir; by Ephraim Urbach, president of the Israel Academy of Arts and Sciences; and by the Israel Bar Association. In the Western world, Jewish protests and

FIERY RUN, Va., Sept. 25 — At first, the thought of being without Sunday football seemed unbearable. For years, I had spent the Day of Rest watching the Redskins being tossed to the Cowboys or the Giants being devoured by the Lions, but with the players on strike, even the thought of not having to listen to Howard Cosell on Monday night was no consolation.

I went to church and prayed for relief, but there was no divine intervention. The players and the owners were so unhappy that they couldn't even get out of bed to sail their yachts, and millions of people, most of them male, didn't know what to do.

Some of them tried memorizing the Sunday papers, but it was the same old news of conflict, massacres and railroad and teachers' strikes, only worse. Others watched "Meet the Press" or "Face the Nation" on television, but the more they met the press or saw the nation, the more they saw Menachem Begin and longed for Joe Theismann or Terry Bradshaw.

Realizing that an election was coming up and that many voters were out of work and out of football, the President of the Republic, who used to be a sports announcer (and occasionally wished he still was), implored the owners and the players to compromise.

"My fellow Americans," he said on television, "as you know, I believe in free enterprise, private ownership and collective bargaining, but not on Sunday afternoon. My view is that a minimum wage of \$100,000 a year for substitute tackles and a quarter of a million for quarterbacks is not unreasonable, and that they should allow their talents to trickle down to the people, provided, of course, that they don't interfere with the profits of the owners."

"I work all week trying to settle things," he added, "but nothing ever seems to get settled in the Great

WASHINGTON

Life Without Football

By James Reston

Game of Politics as in other games at the weekend.

But the strike went on, and in desperation I turned as usual to my wife. "Remember me?" she asked.

"Never on Sundays," I said. "Have you ever heard of the autumnal equinox?" she said.

"That's the time when it's too bumpy to fly, isn't it?"

"It's the time when the world turns over and becomes very beautiful. It occurs about September 23, when the sun appears to cross the celestial equator. It happened the other day right after the Green Bay Packers beat the New York Giants. You should see it sometime."

"Gee," I said. So to keep peace in the house we went out to see the autumn. We started from the Potomac, which was glittering in the sunshine. Young men and women were paddling canoes and looking at each other, as if they had things on their mind other than football. The leaves of the trees seemed different from the last time I saw them, turning yellow and even scarlet in the hollows.

"How long has this been going on?" I asked.

"Several million years," my wife said.

I had heard vaguely that the land from Tidewater Virginia and Mary-

land to the Blue Ridge Mountains, running out across Bull Run and through the silent battlefields of the War Between the States, was one of the gentlest and loveliest prospects on earth, but I had forgot to remember.

At the cut through the Bull Run Mountains, we began to drive upward through Route 66 toward the plains and Marshall, and thence on winding empty roads toward Big Clobber Mountain, shaped as precise and delicate as a bow, and from there past Oven Top, a cheeky little hill shaped like a chocolate drop, leading to a prospect of the Blue Ridge and beyond that into the Valley of Virginia.

"Gee," I said.

"You said that before," my wife said. "Let me fill you in. That valley, surrounded by those mountains, is the original natural stadium, and people play games in the valley of Fiery Run."

"Gee," I said, "what kind of games?"

"Well, they have swings, and they fish for sunnies in Henry Baxley's pond, and wade in the run, and catch fire-flies in the woods on Sunday evenings. These are your children and your grandchildren, remember?"

"I was thinking about the poor old Redskins and wondering what they're doing today with no game to play."

"They're probably counting their money and clipping their coupons and getting acquainted with their children, and wondering what comes next."

"Gee, I never thought of that. It's so silent up here. I was just thinking about the Red..."

"That's just the trouble with you men, you never really think at all, especially on Sundays."

"What was that equinox thing again?"

"It's an end-round play, when the sun goes 'round the equator, and it works every year."

"Gee!"

Watergate, Begin is no longer governing. He has been engaged in "damage control" and his room for maneuver is dwindling by the hour. So long as he remains in office, Israel's leaders, including some of his own adherents, no longer trust his judgment or really believe in his legitimacy.

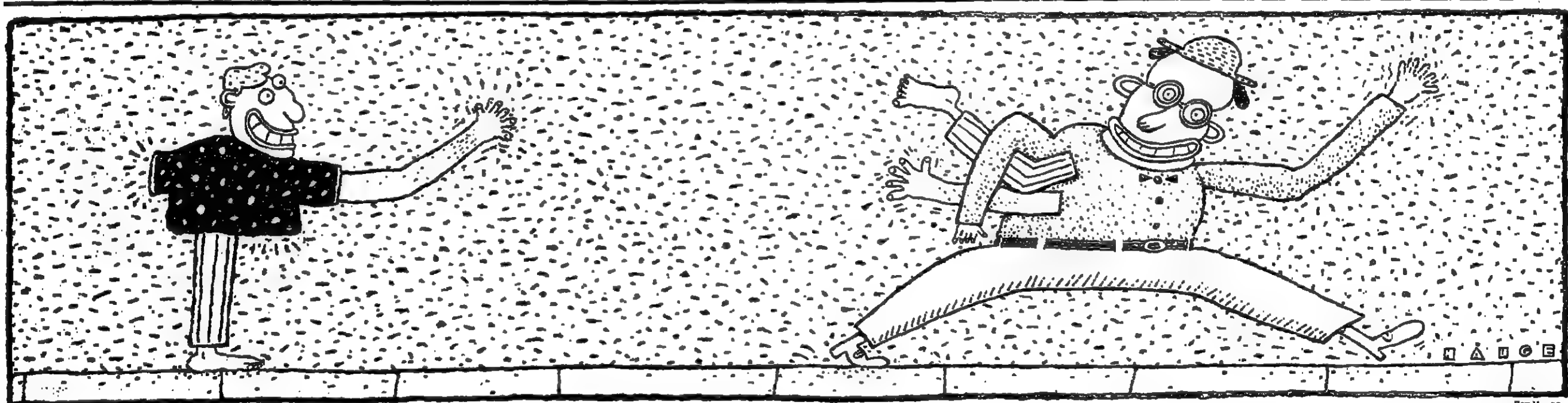
Begin and Sharon can no longer govern because they have lost the power to speak for Israel among its friends. The most precious asset of Israel, its credibility, is now severely damaged. Even before the massacres, I heard on all sides, from army and Government people, in Israel last summer, that the Government was not telling the full truth about the operation in Lebanon. It announced in June that it was moving northward to insure the "peace of the Galilee" by an advance of 25 miles, but everyone in Israel, and Washington, knew almost immediately that the military plans had long been made for a much more extensive action. During the operations, the

army spokesman, who had always been believed in the past, was not taken seriously even by Israel's own soldiers, who were listening to Radio Lebanon for truer accounts of what was happening in their own sectors. On the highest levels in Washington, the personal word of Begin and Sharon is not trusted. This has not happened before to any Israeli leaders.

Jews, in a few hours, will be observing the total fast of the Day of Atonement. They will ask God and man for pardon, but this is granted only if they clear themselves first of sin. This cannot happen so long as Israel, the center of the Jewish world, is led by those who refuse to acknowledge guilt. Israel is a great and moral country; it deserves better leaders.

Begin and Sharon must go.

Arthur Hertzberg, rabbi of Temple Emanuel, in Englewood, N.J., is former president of the American Jewish Congress.



WASHINGTON — Almost every year, Congress creates new exclusions, credits, deductions and other special provisions that feed the ordinary citizen's suspicion that he has to pay too much tax because others pay too little.

General outrage at this creeping complexity is the principle force behind the tax simplification movement. But there is another force as well: the conservative belief that well-to-do recipients of unearned income (profits, dividends, interest, rents, royalties) pay too much tax. These people have seized on tax simplification to substitute a flat tax for the graduated tax rates in the present structure.

The great danger is that the worthy goal of tax simplification will be lost because of divisive efforts to tax all income at a single rate — a radical step that would shift tax burdens from the rich to the middle class.

At its extreme, the flat tax approach would eliminate all differences between total money income and taxable income and would replace the present set of 14 rates with one. If all income were subject to tax and the personal exemption were unchanged, a single rate of 16 percent would yield the same revenue in 1984 as the legislated 11 percent to 50 percent schedule will then yield.

This approach has two serious problems.

The first is that it would shift tax burdens from the rich to the middle class. Average taxes for people in all tax brackets below \$50,000 would increase, and all brackets above \$50,000 would enjoy tax cuts. And the shifts would be large: Taxpayers with incomes of \$100,000 to \$500,000, for example, would enjoy cuts averaging 40 percent.

The second problem is that it would require the taxation of some income that few people want to tax. It would tax Social Security and veterans' benefits, and it would disallow deduc-

Toward Fairer Taxation

By Henry J. Aaron

tions for mortgage interest, most medical expenses and charitable contributions.

The Congressional proposal nearest to this extreme is sponsored by Representative Philip M. Crane and Senator Jesse Helms. To soften the rough edges, they would retain the exclusion of Social Security benefits, and to ameliorate the shift of tax burdens they propose to increase the personal exemption from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per person. But the large shift of tax burdens away from high-income to middle-income brackets persists.

The only way to avoid these large shifts in tax burdens is to use more than one rate, thereby reintroducing some of the complexity that the flat-taxers seek to minimize. It is possible with three or four brackets to come very close to matching the distribution of taxes among different income brackets generated by the present 14-bracket schedule.

This is the course that Senator Bill Bradley and Representative Richard A. Gephardt advocate. They propose legislation that would broaden the tax base by reducing the number of deductions and exclusions, but not quite so many as Senator Crane and Senator Helms would, and they would use four rates rather than one.

Like any significant change in tax

laws that leaves revenues and distribution of taxes among brackets approximately unchanged, however, the Bradley-Gephardt bill causes large shifts in taxes within brackets. These shifts arise because not all taxpayers make equal use of the myriad devices now in the tax code for avoiding taxes. Taking away such devices increases the taxes of heavy users and reduces taxes of light users to whom reduced rates are worth more than the lost deductions and exclusions.

These shifts in tax burdens within brackets are the political weakness of the various tax simplification proposals. If Congress gets serious about simplification, members will soon receive a steady stream of highly respectable visitors who will point out that, while simplification is noble, their worthy provisions must be retained. College presidents and hospital directors will argue that terminating charitable contributions for their institutions will set back learning and health. Mayors will plead fiscal collapse if they are denied use of industrial revenue bonds. As recently as the tax debate of 1981, such protests overwhelmed tepid efforts in Congress to simplify the tax code.

Maybe legislators, fresh from constituents hungry for tax simplification, will be more resistant to special-interest pleas and will reject the simple but dubious idea of a flat rate. For something important is at stake. Lowering tax rates would improve economic incentives and discourage inefficient tax-avoidance arrangements. Perhaps more important would be the political gain, a renewed belief by many citizens that tax burdens can be distributed fairly and understandably.

Henry J. Aaron is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and professor of economics at the University of Maryland.

WASHINGTON — There is something very seductive about the flat-tax idea.

Almost everyone complains about the maze of deductions that seems to allow the rich to escape the tax net and forces the rest of us to line the pockets of accountants at tax-return time. And the supply-side advocates are not alone in arguing that restructuring the tax code to reduce marginal rates would increase the incentive to work.

Trading complicated deductions for a low, flat rate is an offer many of us would find hard to refuse. But close scrutiny begins to reveal the snags.

As the economist Milton Friedman and others have pointed out, without a constitutional amendment there is no way to insure that a flat tax would stay flat.

How easy it would be for politicians to curry favor with the majority by advocating a special, extra tax for the super-rich minority — so easy, in fact, that Senator Bill Bradley already has unveiled a "flat-tax" plan with rates ranging from 14 to 28 percent.

According to Norman B. Ture, former Under Secretary of the Treasury for Tax and Economic Affairs, the outbreak of "born-again" enthusiasm for the flat tax among Washington politicians may simply reflect Congress's "urgent desire to find some way of increasing Federal revenues in a manner that will convince taxpayers good things are being done to them even while additional taxes are being extracted."

Without some statutory or constitutional safeguard to limit increases in revenue, says Mr. Ture, no flat-rate plan should be enacted.

A less publicized but equally critical problem with the flat-tax proposal concerns the proposed blanket elimination of deductions.

Deductions fall into two broad categories. There are some, such as the mortgage interest deduction, which

Snags In a Flat Tax

By Stuart M. Butler

are intended to increase the wealth of the taxpayer in some acceptable fashion. But there are others that encourage people to engage in an activity that accomplishes an agreed upon social purpose and thereby reduces the burden on government to provide for that purpose.

Take, for example, charitable deductions for hospitals, schools, welfare organizations, etc. We believe as a society that certain basic levels of health, education and welfare should be provided for all. Government programs are one method of accomplishing this purpose; so are gifts given through charities. If we were to tax charitable donations, we would discourage a means of achieving social purposes that reduced the demand on government — and hence the need for tax revenue.

Similarly, Social Security was introduced to insure that people would make arrangements for their retirement. So, allowing a deduction for individual retirement accounts, or I.R.A.'s, which supplement the inadequate and bankrupt Social Security system, is quite rational — even from the Treasury's perspective. For every dollar lost in tax revenue, more than a dollar is channeled into an alternative to Social Security.

Government programs funded by levies or fees (taxes), in other words,

are but one way of providing social goods. If an individual chooses to meet his or her personal or social obligations through a nongovernment mechanism, why should government have the right to extract a fee? Should we also have to buy a ticket for Amtrack if we take the bus?

If the flat-tax proposal results in the elimination of such deductions, it would stifle private alternatives to government programs. It would discourage private social security, private welfare and any other private methods of accomplishing social objectives. Tax deductions for the private provision of services are essential if we are to have healthy competitors to government providers.

If we abandon these deductions in the name of a broader and simpler tax base, we will enhance the monopoly power of the Federal Government. And history teaches us that a Government monopoly is just as bad as a private monopoly. The quality of social services would fall, and if taxpayers were allowed no escape-hatch deductions from the Government monopoly price, you can be certain the price would rise.

If proponents of a flat tax wish to make political progress, they should draw a distinction between "loopholes" and deductions designed to foster social goals. By excluding charitable deductions, I.R.A.'s and the like from their drive to simplify the tax code, they would not only divide the coalition ranged against their campaign but also would help to preserve private alternatives to burgeoning government, which most flat-tax advocates wish to curb.

Stuart M. Butler is director of domestic policy studies at the Heritage Foundation, a public-policy organization. He is author of "Enterprise Zones: Greenlining the Inner Cities."

Arts & Leisure

Rohmer Adds to His Intimate Comedies

By JOAN DUPONT

JULOUVILLE, France

Here, across the bay from the Mont St. Michel, in Normandy, Eric Rohmer is at work on a new film. Known for his ability to shut himself — and his actors and crew — off from the world, Mr. Rohmer is unaware that his last film, "Le Beau Mariage," has opened in New York to good reviews.

At 62, he is the elder statesman, the academicien of the New Wave, and the most unswerving in his vision. "I started late, and there was a period — from 1950 to 1970 — when I didn't know if I would succeed in making films professionally," he told a visitor recently. Just when Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut and Claude Chabrol won recognition, Mr. Rohmer, left behind, made his retreat, going to work for the educational division of French television.

"I always had to struggle, and still do, to make the kind of films I want to make," he said. Author of books on F. W. Murnau and Alfred Hitchcock (with Claude Chabrol), once editor of the Cahiers du Cinéma, Mr. Rohmer rarely goes to the movies now. "So I don't know too much what others do, but in all likelihood, I follow a path that is not that of today's filmmakers," he said.

Over the years, Mr. Chabrol and Mr. Truffaut have tried different tactics: Mr. Godard takes breakneck risks with each film; they have all gone separate ways. Mr. Rohmer is the only one who refers to the New Wave as if it were living phenomenon. This makes him appear both curiously old-fashioned and eternally young. In fact, he is a point of reference for this generation of filmmakers, who admire his singleminded course. His specialty is the film of the intimate en-

Joan Dupont lives in Paris and is English-language editor of *Le Film Français*.

counter, and the revelation of closely-observed characters through small, but often intense gestures and — something for which he is particularly known — seemingly uncinematic amounts of dialogue.

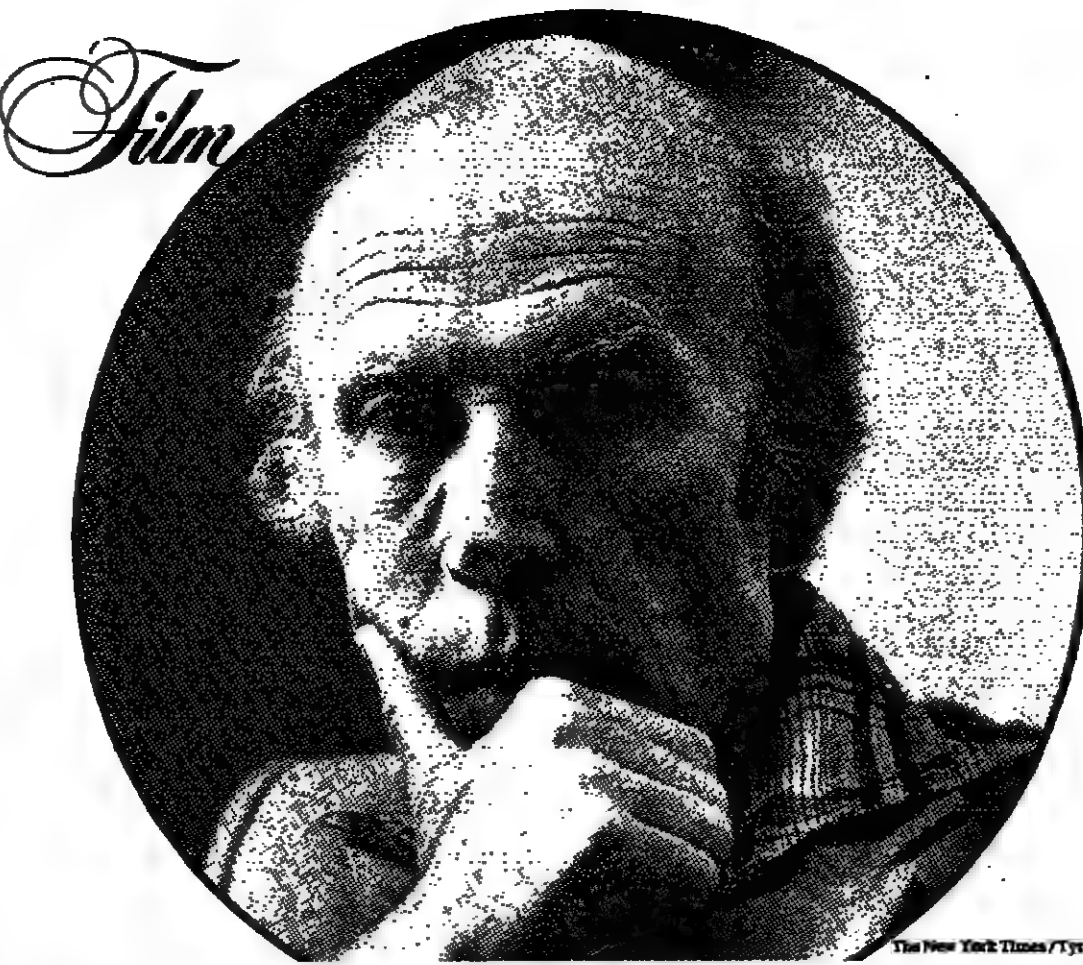
"I saw 'Le Beau Mariage' twice," says the Belgian filmmaker Chantal Ackerman. "The first time I was disappointed; the second time I wasn't. Rohmer does what he does so well, he doesn't have to do anything else."

"Le Beau Mariage" is the story of a headstrong young woman who commutes between the provincial town of Le Mans and Paris. Fed up with life on the loose and her married lover, she decides to find the right man and marry. The lawyer she sets her trap for — there is hardly question of her heart — has all the qualifications, but he refuses to fall in with her plans. The more she advances, the farther he retreats, until, in a brilliant climax, he hedges with such finesse, such finality, that she stamps off, defeated, but — true to the spirit of a Rohmer heroine — undaunted.

"It's the story of a young girl who takes her desires for reality; that's the profound subject," Mr. Rohmer explained. "I think it's a modern subject. It could be an old story, but I wanted to treat it in a contemporary way. Above all, it's a comedy. I find that my films are taken too seriously; people don't laugh enough. The films I write are on the border between the comic and the serious. It doesn't take much to push them over the line."

He resolutely titled this series "Comédies et Proverbes"; it comprises "La Femme de l'Aviateur" (1980), "Le Beau Mariage," made in 1981, and his work in progress, "Loup y es-tu?" ("Wolf, Are You There?"). The comedies are thus set off from the "Six Contes Moraux" ("Six Moral Tales"), made between 1963 and 1973, which included "Ma Nuit Chez Maud," "Le Genou de Claire" ("Claire's Knee") and "L'Amour l'Après-Midi," his best-known works.

"Ma Nuit Chez Maud" had a first-person point of view," said Mr. Rohmer. "There was what we call in



The New York Times/Tyenne Dineen

French 'la voix-off,' an off-camera narrator. The comedies are constructed more like plays than short stories. Everybody has their say. There is an objective eye."

Mr. Rohmer may have changed modes, but his obsessions are intact. The deceptively slight comedies are actually anatomies of a province, a season, a young woman's moody desires, a man's restrained sensuality. So was it with the early moral tales: The ambiguous long night talked away at Maud's, that tantalizing glimpse of Claire's knee, were enough to disrupt the microcosm of Mr. Rohmer's intelligent, articulate creatures. Aside from two historical films, "Die Marquise von O." (1975), in German, and "Perceval le Gallois" (1978), Mr. Rohmer has pursued his themes relentlessly, tracing the peripheries of modern love — pain and abandonment, ambition and manipulation.

"Le Beau Mariage" was passed over for the Cannes Festival, and "Loup y es-tu?" did not get the usual Government aid (an advance against receipts) until Mr. Rohmer's old New Wave comrades intervened on his behalf. "I don't care for commercial success. If I did, I wouldn't be making the films I make," he said.

His special effects consist of stark cinematic simplicity and densely written dialogue. "What interests me is to show people who have feelings, and feelings are expressed by gestures and by the spoken word," he

said. "In real life, people speak a lot; to show people who don't talk is false."

While he admires theatrical authors like Sacha Guitry and Marcel Pagnol, he considers himself a disciple of the silent screen. "At the cinémathèque, I discovered the German Expressionists and the great American comics — Buster Keaton — that's what gave me the desire to make films," he said.

Despite the early difficulties and recent snubs, Mr. Rohmer appears without resentment or self-doubt. "Since 'Ma Nuit Chez Maud,'" he said, "things have gone rather well. I'm lucky to have practically complete independence, which is rare. That's because I make films in which there is no waste." Mr. Rohmer has his own production company, with Barbet Schroeder; for "Le Beau Mariage," François Truffaut's company coproduced.

"The cost of 'Le Beau Mariage' is ridiculous compared to an American film, and even a European film, but in France we can make films that are not marginal," he said. "We can shoot on a small budget and still turn out a professional film."

One way Mr. Rohmer cuts costs is never using stars. "I have nothing against stars, except that they're stars," he said. "It interests me to choose my actors; I don't like having them imposed on me."

He pointed out that his position is unique. Mr. Truffaut uses stars, and Mr. Godard can use only stars. "As

Godard says himself: 'Since my films are difficult, I have to take people the public accept.' That's not my situation: Françoise Fabian and Bruno Ganz went on from my films to become stars."

Since filming "Perceval," the age level of his actors has dropped, and he uses more adolescents. He selects his actors quickly, choosing from photos, trusting to experience and instinct. "I've never been disappointed," he said. "I like young people; I have no subjects for mature people. Interesting things happen only to the young, as far as I'm concerned."

Here in the Norman cottage, Mr. Rohmer is surrounded by sunburned teen-agers. A tall, spare man, his dark clothes tend to hang, making him look, somehow, like an abstinent minister. He hurried about the room, plucking at household tasks with pale fingers, straightening up after the day's shoot.

The dinner table seems to be the last thing that interests him. He usually makes a meal of a cup of tea, a crust of bread and cheese. "There are two kinds of filmmakers," he said. "Those who eat, and those who don't. Chabrol and Godard. I think I'm more like Godard." Uncharacteristically for French filmmakers, he includes few food scenes in his films.

No wine is served during dinner. A lighted cigarette — even at a distance — makes him cringe, and sudden movements, an approaching body, cause him to retract, his eyes hooded.

The French filmmaker Eric Rohmer, elder statesman of the New Wave, has won fresh acclaim for his latest work, 'Le Beau Mariage.'

But at times the eyes give off laser-blue flashes, and it happens that they alight with hilarity at the evening continues. "I am not a sad person," he said, and that — along with the gold wedding band — was as much as he expressed of his personal life. "I am an auteur; someone else, I'm somebody else. I'm completely hidden. I don't like photos taken, never appear on TV. I'm more and more strict on the subject."

In Paris, Mr. Rohmer eschews festivals, and even private screenings, preferring to take his seat anonymously in the theater. He goes to his office every day as regularly as a government clerk, inviting his cast in to discuss their roles, running a kind of seminar that harks back to his early career as literature professor. According to his actors in "Loup," these sessions turn into psychodramas; months later, they find their dialogues, and pieces of themselves, in the script. Parsimonious, Mr. Rohmer lets nothing go to waste, and he prepares meticulously, far in advance.

"It's like going on the hunt," he said. "Some things must be prepared; others not. Since everything is precisely planned, I don't need a lot of people to correct my mistakes. Look, I found this lamp on sale; I am my own decorator." He keeps his crew to a minimum — there is no first assistant. The single person he counts on is Nestor Almendros, the Oscar-winning director of photography who has done a half-dozen films with him, and who is back at work on "Loup." Mostly, he relies on himself, from typing his own scripts to rapping out rhythms to demonstrate the kind of music he wants composed.

The Appeal of Yasujiro Ozu

By DONALD RICHIE

TOKYO Nearly 20 years after his death, the Japanese continues to think of Yasujiro Ozu as the most Japanese of all directors. He is regarded as a kind of spokesman. One is told that his films had "the real Japanese flavor."

This being so, the Japanese have difficulty believing that Ozu's films are widely shown and deeply loved in other countries. That people will line up in London, Paris or New York to see "Tokyo Story" or "Late Spring" is something the Japanese cannot fully comprehend.

At the fact remains that appreciation of his art is international, and that art will be on display in New York in a retrospective series presented by the Japan Film Center, starting Friday and running through Dec. 1. Not only will "Tokyo Story" and "Late Spring" constitute the opening double bill, but before the series concludes, 34 of the director's films will be screened, among them, such highlights as "An Autumn Afternoon," "The End of Summer" and "Equinox Flower," which are among the 14 Ozu films scheduled to be seen during October.

Perhaps even Ozu himself would have had difficulty comprehending his widespread appeal. He thought of his pictures as being utterly Japanese, which they are, and was never very interested in what happened to them outside of his country.

At the same time, he was very much aware of the influence that foreign films had had on him. He often said that he learned his craft from studying American comedies of the 20's and that if he had not seen Thomas H. Ince's "Civilization" (of all films), he would never have become a director.

But in this he is also very Japanese, since almost everyone here goes through an initial period of enthusiasm for things Western. After, in the middle years, the Japanese returns to his culture to consolidate and render Japanese what he has learned. This parabola is noticed particularly in Japanese artists, be they Tanizaki or Mishima.

Ozu began consolidating his style with the now lost "Life of an Office Worker" (1928) and the 1931 "Tokyo Chorus." Here he began creating an individual way of viewing, which was at the same time very "Japanese." Indeed, from now on in his career, the films themselves would be, in part, about the parabolic movement he was himself experiencing, much of the tension in the films deriving from small

confrontations between those in different sections of the pattern — between, for example, parents who had returned to Japan and their children who were on their way out.

Specifically, the Japanese quality in Ozu is his restraint. In even a strictly technical sense, Ozu's films are among the most restrained, the most limited, controlled, restricted.

From very early in his career, for example, Ozu used only one kind of shot: a shot taken from the level of a person seated in traditional fashion on the tatami floor. This, of course, was the viewpoint of the majority of Japanese at the time he was making his films. But it is also Japanese in that it is the attitude for listening and watching. It is the same as the position from which one watches the noh or the rising moon, from which one partakes of the tea ceremony or a cup of hot sake or, as in Ozu's case, a glass of whisky.

This shot rarely — in his later films, never — moved. No pans, few dollies and in his entire work only one crane

'He thought of his pictures as utterly Japanese, which is what they are.'

shot ("Early Spring"). Also, increasingly, the single punctuation Ozu allowed himself was the straight cut. No fades in or out, no dissolves. These, he said, were attributes of the camera, not attributes of movies.

Matching this extraordinary technical rigor was an equally strong insistence upon an equal restraint in his material. The films are about less and less. Never strong on plot, they soon became mere story and, in the later pictures, the most sketchy of anecdotes. They were about the conflict between generations ("Early Summer," "Tokyo Story") or about a child marrying and leaving her parents ("Late Spring," "Late Autumn," "An Autumn Afternoon").

Ozu wrote all of his own scripts (along with his favorite writer, Kogo Noda) and these, over the years, became "about" less and less. Among the reasons was Ozu's very strong dislike of plot, or even a conventionally structured story. It uses people, he once said, and to use people is to misuse them.

Thus, over the years, both what Ozu showed and how he showed it became more and more restrained. In this he was very Japanese because so much Japanese art is based upon this principle — the haiku and the ink-brush

drawing alike tell nothing and show everything. Though everyday Japan is not a country noted for restraint, simplicity or near-Buddhist serenity, these qualities remain ideals, and Ozu's insistence upon them and the public feeling for (or against) them make these ideals more than empty hypotheses.

Ozu's films are, of course, highly structured, but their structure is that of Japanese art. He and Noda worked through suggestion, through implication. Their favorite structuring method is the simple parallel. The parents in "Tokyo Story" come to the capital. Then they return, and one of them dies. That is the story of the film. Or within the film are sets of parallels, as in the minor parents-children confrontations in "Equinox Flower." Or there are many parallels within various scenes, as in "The End of Summer."

Here, in their debt use of parallel structure, Ozu and Noda approach the artistry of Jane Austen (a writer they did not know), using the single structural technique which shows everything and explains nothing. Indeed, nowadays, and rightly, the Ozu-Noda scripts are in Japan considered "literature." They contain that degree of revelation.

Ozu's method, like all true literary methods, is oblique. He does not confront emotion, he surprises it. Precisely, he restricts his vision in order to see more; he limits in order to transcend these limitations. His cinema is thus formal, and the formality is that of poetry, the creation of a content that returns to each word, each image, its original freshness and urgency. In all of this Ozu is close to the old haiku masters, the early ink-brush painters of Japan. It is this quality to which the Japanese refer when they speak of Ozu as being the most Japanese of directors, as having "the real Japanese flavor."

But more is implied than restraint in the service of art. If the unique art of Ozu is very evident, then so is his common humanity, and the Ozu character is among the most lifelike in cinema. Since character for its own sake is always a major subject in the Ozu film and since it is rare that a character is forced to work to forward the end of a story, we are often given that spectacle of a character existing for himself alone. This we observe with the pleasure that verisimilitude always brings, and with it comes a heightened awareness of the beauty and fragility of human beings.

The overwhelming humanity of the Ozu film is made possible by the rigor of its construction. In an Ozu film, as in Japanese architecture, one sees all the supports; indeed, there is nothing else. It is because of this fragility that we so strongly sense the inhabitants — those in the Japanese traditional house, those in the Ozu film.

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Donald Richie, a leading Western authority on the Japanese film, is the author of "Ozu," a biography (University of California, 1974).

A WAY OF DEATH

By YITTSCHAK BEN GAD / Special to The Jerusalem Post

THE MASSACRE at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps has almost overshadowed that other horrendous crime of the past fortnight: the murderous bomb outrage in Beirut designed to eliminate Lebanon's then president-elect, Bashir Jemayel. Together, they constituted one more chapter in the history of the savage Arab kinship.

On October 6, 1981, less than a year before the murder of the young, energetic Lebanese leader, the president of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, was assassinated. In both cases, the victims were strong, self-confident men who symbolized the hopes of their people. Both wanted peace with Israel. Both paid for this with their lives. But they represented only one facet of the Arab world.

Most Arab leaders have, at one time or another, extolled the fraternity and desire for mutual cooperation among the Arab people. In the last Arab summit at Fez in Morocco, the Arabs appeared to have some kind of unity. Idealistic and wishful thinking are one thing; reality is quite another. Careful observation of the Arab world in the past 34 years reveals a kinship blotted by revenge and steeped in blood.

During this same period, revolution and military take-over have been the main methods of reaching power throughout the Arab world. This is reflected in the fact that only one of the 21 Arab states — Lebanon — can be considered a democracy.

Since 1948, there have been 30 successful revolutions in the Arab countries and at least 44 unsuccessful ones. The number of failures is more difficult to determine, since unsuccessful coups d'état often go unreported. With rare exceptions, revolutions have been carried out by army officers, and the take-over has been rapid.

ASSASSINATION is an accepted means of political expression in most Arab countries. Since 1948, 20 Arab heads of state and prime ministers have been murdered. There have been numerous unsuccessful attempts on the lives of Arab political leaders. Many other public figures, political leaders and army officers have been eliminated. Altogether, there have been more than 82 recorded political murders in the past 34 years.

Among the victims of such political upheavals were King Abdullah of Jordan, in July 1951; King

Faisal of Iraq and his prime minister Nuri es-Said, in July 1958; President Qassem of Iraq, in February 1963; two Jordanian premiers, Hazza al-Majali and Wasfi Tal, in August 1960 and November 1971, respectively; King Faisal of Saudi Arabia in March 1975; Egyptian President Sadat in October 1981; and now, Bashir Jemayel.

Also assassinated were two Syrian presidents; Field-Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer, commander of the Egyptian army; Morocco's minister of interior; the foreign minister of Algeria; Imam (King) Yahya of Yemen; and countless others. The present president of Syria, Hafez al-Assad, was wounded in an assassination attempt in July 1973.

The murder of King Faisal of Iraq in 1958 has become the most notorious due to the special cruelty demonstrated following the actual murder. The king was killed in a

coup d'état carried out by his generals, Abd al-Karim Kassem and Abd al-Salam Mohammed Aref. The king's body was then bound by the feet to the back bumper of a car and dragged through the streets of Baghdad. In 1963, Kassem was himself overthrown and sentenced to death by Aref. His final request was simple, "You can kill me, but do not do to me what I did to King Faisal after his death." His wish was respected.

FROM SEPTEMBER 1962 until March 1970, Yemen was the scene of a civil war between royalist and republican forces. Each side was aided by other Arab nations: Saudi Arabia and, to a lesser extent, Jordan, supplied the royalists with money, armaments and political and technical help; Egypt entered the war almost immediately, and fought for about five years on the

side of the republican insurgents, using poison gas as one of their weapons.

The civil war in Yemen claimed the lives of some 200,000 Yemenis and an estimated 30,000 to 40,000 Egyptian troops.

Similar civil warfare erupted in Sudan, where the Moslems fought the black, non-Moslem rebels from the south. It is estimated that during this war as many as 800,000 southern Sudanese civilians died.

In September 1970, civil war broke out between the government of Jordan and Palestinian terrorists, and thousands perished. There were armed clashes between Jordan and Syria in the same year; between North and South Yemen and Yemen and Oman in 1972; between South Yemen and Saudi Arabia in 1969 and 1973.

INTER-ARAB relations have been marked by frequent attempts on the

part of certain governments to subvert the regimes of others. They have taken the forms of direct and indirect military intervention, verbal attacks by government-controlled media and intervention by means of "third parties" such as terrorist organizations.

In February 1958, a military plot against King Hussein of Jordan, backed by Egypt and Syria, was exposed before it could be put into operation. In November of that same year, the Syrians attempted to force down King Hussein's aircraft over Syria.

In March 1958, Tunisia's president publicly accused Egypt of plotting against his life.

Since his rise to power in September 1969, Libya's ruler Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has openly sought to subvert the regimes of other Arab nations. He was behind the 1971 attempt on the life of King Hassan of Morocco. He has repeatedly called for the overthrow and execution of the Jordanian king. He intervened in Lebanon on behalf of the Moslems during the recent civil strife and has plotted against Sudan's President Numeiry.

Ruptures of normal diplomatic relations between Arab govern-

ments have been frequent. On 16 separate occasions since 1958, governments have broken off diplomatic relations with their Arab sister-states and, in another five instances, relations have been suspended.

Summing up "Arab kinship," one finds a revealing history filled with coups d'état, political assassinations, subversion, breaking off of diplomatic relations, civil warfare and even mass murder.

Bashir Jemayel was not the first Arab leader to be murdered and he probably will not be the last. The mass murder in Sabra and Shatila is not the first and will probably not be the last. The Arab sword which has not been sheathed in the past will probably have much to say in the future.

The famous Arab historian, Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) said of the Arab nation:

"Beduin are a savage nation, fully accustomed to savagery and the things that cause it. Savagery has become their character and nature. They enjoy it, because it means freedom from authority and no subservience to leadership..."

Dr. Ben Gad, a deputy mayor of Netanya, is an authority on Middle East affairs.

Galilee adventure

GARDENER'S CORNER/Walter Frankl

WE WERE on our way to Galilee for a short holiday, and my wife and I stopped at the plant nursery of Hazorea to see how much progress the kibbutz has made since our last visit a year ago. We were not disappointed.

There were exotic plants from far-off countries, inventive ideas in cultivating plants, new plant creations and the impressive way watering and temperature regulation are handled — all fully automatic.

This column recently described the conventional way to propagate a common house plant, anthurium, by bulbets. "We have a much quicker way," says Larry Laor, director of Hazorea's plant nursery. "Propagation by bulbets takes years to get a reasonable plant, but we do it in a few months' time." They use clones, prepared by the meristem laboratory of Kibbutz Rosh Hanikra. The clones are planted in plastic pots, filled with a soilless medium, a mixture of peat, perlite, finely sieved buff hazolan gravel and compost. A few grains of osmocote are also added to each pot.

A big collection of anthuriums with showy, veined leaves in different colours are evidence of their success. Among the many new plants shown us at Hazorea was a new kind of a wandering Jew, *Tradescantia siliamontana*, a species with fleshy greyish leaves and pink

flowers. It's very easy to grow in sun or shade, indoors or in the garden, and is excellent for hanging baskets or balcony boxes.

Another new plant was *Ardisia*, a shrub with clusters of small red berries. Equally noteworthy was the collection of bromeliads, especially blooming archmeas. Asked how he managed to get so many lovely flowering archmeas, Larry Laor said, "You can easily do it yourself." His directions: Cut a ripe apple into several parts and put one slice into the funnel-shaped crown of an archmea. Then cover the crown with a transparent plastic cap for a couple of days. Soon a flower bud will appear at the top of the plant. The ethylene gas emanating from the piece of apple hastens blooming.

Many readers have asked me about the cultivation of ginger and where to obtain it. Apparently the growing popularity of Chinese cooking, in which ginger is an essential seasoning, has inspired interest in growing this herb at home.

ANOTHER FIND at Hazorea was a variegated ginger plant. The variegated ginger at Hazorea has all the properties of the popular herb and the added advantage of decorative, green-white striped foliage, similar to that of the dieffenbachia.

Perhaps other nurseries in Israel sell ginger; I have never seen it anywhere. Hazorea is selling healthy, decorative potted gingers for reasonable prices.

Ginger, (*Zingiber* or *Zinziber officinale*) belongs to the zingiberaceae family, which includes some 1,400 tropical and subtropical rhizomatous herbs. Native to Asia, from India to China, ginger is widely cultivated there. The Chinese were the first to cultivate and to export ginger.

The plant is a perennial, which "disappears" in winter. The lowest temperature ginger can endure and survive is 13°C. Jerusalemites and people in other hilly areas should either bring potted ginger indoors from mid-November until early March, or put it, heavily mulched, in a wind-protected spot in the garden.

It will shoot up again in late spring. Ginger grows nearly one metre high. The used part of this herb is the rhizomes, sold green, dry, or

powdered. Preserved ginger is a delicious confection of the green rhizomes in syrup.

Ginger is warming and fragrant and was considered in past ages to be an aphrodisiac. Nowadays it is valued for its flavour in curries, chutneys, cakes, biscuits, etc. Minute quantities of ginger may also be used for herb teas, and speaking of drinks, one must not forget to mention ginger beer.

Pieces of dry, ginger root, if not kept around too long, could possibly come to life. The best way to encourage them is in a mixture of peat, vermiculite and sieved garden soil in equal parts. Ginger doesn't like direct sun and grows well in partial shade. It needs plenty of water in spring and summer, but from late October until spring, it should be kept almost dry. Thus ginger plants outdoors must be protected from too much rain. Ginger generally flowers in sum-

mer. AT HAZOREA, Larry Laor was eager to show us "one of the most interesting parts of our nursery." He pointed out a nursery frame, about 20 metres long, where something was packed in pads of polythene netting. Closer inspection revealed that each pad was thickly planted with different kinds of tree seedlings. These were the work of John Maurice to whom we were then introduced.

A white-haired man beyond pension, Maurice was working quietly, all by himself, with a razor blade as his only tool. Yet this modest man probably does more to give Israel a good image than a dozen diplomats.

John Maurice has invented a technique of growing miniature trees that has come to be appreciated in many countries and helped to establish a flourishing export specialty from Israel to the tropics.

Maurice's seedlings grow in a thin layer of a soilless rooting medium. When the tips of their roots grow

through the medium and reach a wire net, generally a few days after seed germination, they dry out immediately under the influence of light. The seedlings are forced to initiate side sprouts in order to survive.

With careful watering and maintenance of high humidity, a mass of fibrous roots develops and strengthens the quickly maturing plant. Grafting takes place as soon as the root-stock is thick enough to match the thinnest scion. Maurice prefers to use a mounted razor blade to a graping knife for his delicate task.

In preparation for export, the mini trees are shaken out of the pads and washed to become completely bare-rooted. For dispatch, the roots are dipped in peat and in hydrospan, a gelatinous powder that keeps them moist for a long time. A veritable thicket of trees is then rolled tightly into a polythene strip. A roll holding 50 trees weighs a mere 2½ kg. or so.

The rolls of trees, properly packed in cartons, can travel for weeks in tropical conditions without watering or attention — and still arrive in fresh condition. For several years now, Hazorea has been exporting miniature trees to tropical countries on different continents, including some that do not have diplomatic relations with Israel. The

trees resume growth immediately on being planted, wherever their final destination, and their record of field establishment is close to 100 per cent!

Species propagated by John Maurice in this way include avocado, mango, citrus, cherimoya, guava, loquat, feijoa, persimmon, olive, walnut, pecan, macadamia, pistachio and carob. Some of these are propagated by cuttings, set in the same type of pads under a polythene tunnel.

The conventional methods of raising trees use big gallon containers or plastic bags, and it is clear that Maurice's way offers substantial advantages, especially for areas where plant nurseries are few and transport limited by bad roads and the weather. Apart from cost, conventionally grown trees can't compete in terms of shipping. They are bulky to say the least, and during their travels require watering and protective care. Transporting 400 fruit trees to a tropical destination, for example, would with conventional methods mean chartering two airplanes. The Hazorea system does the same job with a single carton box, weighing not more than 20 kg!

IN MY next column, I will tell of another adventure we had in the Galilee in which I found a herb I have long been searching for.

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Besides which Swissair service on board is so pleasant that even before arrival you get a couple of extra hours' holiday in Switzerland.

swissair

Sports

Maccabi straight into the fray

Post Sports Reporter
Maccabi Tel Aviv, who fly out this morning to Holland will be in action already this evening in defence of their inter-continental basketball cup, a traditional biennial event involving top club teams from Europe and the Americas.

Maccabi, who won the last competition held in 1980 in Yugoslavia, will be looking to avenge their defeat in the European Cup final earlier this year by the Italian champs Ford Cantu. The Italians were then the guests of Squibb. But they have forgone the sweetness of their erstwhile soft-drink sponsors for the speed of the car manufacturing company.

To-night Maccabi engage the Argentinian champions Ferrocaril in their opening game. The other three teams participating are Almaz Leiden and Den Bosch both of Holland, and the U.S. army's representative side.

Israel files entry for 1984 Olympics

TEL AVIV. — The Israel Olympic Committee has submitted the country's official entry form for the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

The IOC form, sent to the games organizing committee in Los Angeles, at the end of last week, included no details about the size of the contingent. It is simply a confirmation of Israel's participation in the 23rd Olympics.

The Soviet Union also filed its entry for Los Angeles a few days ago. Two years ago, the U.S. led a boycott of the Moscow Olympics because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Israel was among the countries which joined America in the boycott.

Aussies humbled

KARACHI (AP). — Australia avoided the humiliation of an innings defeat but were nonetheless thoroughly beaten by Pakistan in the first cricket Test here yesterday.

Seeking another 12 runs on the final morning to make Pakistan bat again, and with only three wickets in hand, Rodney Marsh, Ray Bright and Jeff Thomson cracked the bowling with relish showing up the inadequacies of the Aussies' top batting which had crumbled to the spin bowling of Abdul Qadir. He finished with 5-64 and was made Man-of-the-Match. Pakistan batsmen easily knocked off the 45 runs wanted for victory.

Paul Scholes Australia 284 and 179; Pakistan 419-8 and 47-1. Pakistan won by 10 wickets.

India wrapped up the limited-overs series against Sri Lanka by recording their third win in a row. Despite another century from Roy Dias who made 121, Sri Lanka could muster only 135-8 in their 50 overs. India replied with 234-4 in 39 overs.

SCOREBOARD

VOLLEYBALL: China dominated Peru to capture the women's world championship. Score in the semi-final final was U.S. 15-5, 15-11. The U.S. defeated Japan 3-1 for third place.

In a men's international event in Rio, Brazil beat the Soviet Union 3-2 in a thrilling final. China whitewashed Japan 3-0 for third spot.

ATHLETICS: Greg Meyer of the U.S. enters a top-three field to capture the Chicago marathon title scheduled for 2:20:00. It is the first day of the event. Joe Nease who had led until the final mile. WEIGHTLIFTING: Anatoli Firsiroti of the Soviet Union confirmed his claim as the world's strongest man when he won the super-heavyweight gold medal on the last day of the world championships in Yugoslavia. In two lifts he equalled 405kg.

Only Cards look safe now, tight races in other divisions

NEW YORK (AP). — All four baseball division leaders — Los Angeles, St. Louis, Milwaukee and California — lost on Sunday, further tightening the Major League pennant races as they head into the final week of the regular season.

The National League West became even more scrambled as it was the San Francisco Giants who topped the Dodgers 3-2 while San Diego were beating Atlanta 3-2. As a result, the Dodgers — who have lost five in a row — now lead both the Braves and the Giants by just one game.

Darrell Evans slugged a two-run homer to highlight San Francisco's victory, their fifth in a row. It was the first time the Giants have swept a three-game series in Dodger Stadium since 1967. Joe Pittman singled home the tie-breaking run with one out in the ninth inning, lifting San Diego over Atlanta.

Reliever Gary Lucas won his first game after 10 defeats.

In a crucial American League East game, Dennis Martinez and Tippy Martinez combined on a six-hitter as the Baltimore Orioles downed Milwaukee 5-2. Baltimore now trail the Division-leading Brewers by just two games, and each team has seven games left. The Orioles and Brewers finish the nail-biting regular season with a four-game series in Baltimore.

Eddie Murray hit his 31st homer and had a sacrifice fly while Milwaukee's Gorman Thomas drilled his 39th homer, tops in the majors.

California remain 3½ games ahead of Kansas City in the AL West as both teams lost. Larry Parrish smacked a three run homer in the first inning, powering Texas to a 7-5 victory over the Angels, who got homers from Reggie Jackson, his 36th, along with Fred Lynn and Doug DeCinces. Mike Heath's run-scoring single in the eighth inning lifted the Oakland A's to a 5-4 victory over Kansas City.

Any combination of California victories and Kansas City losses totalling four will give the Angels the pennant. The Philadelphia Phillies' flickering pennant hopes in the NL East dimmed as they lost to the New York Mets 6-4. Mookie Wilson's two-run single capped a three-run Met seventh. St. Louis remained 5½ games ahead despite a 6-1 loss to the Chicago Cubs, as Ferguson Jenkins, 13-15, pitched a five-hitter and singled in two runs. St. Louis' magic number is now two.

American League Eastern Division		
	W	L
Milwaukee	92	59
Baltimore	90	61
Boston	85	70
Detroit	76	78
Cleveland	76	78
New York	75	80
Toronto	72	83

Western Division		
	W	L
California	89	67
Kansas City	85	70
Chicago	82	73
Seattle	76	80
Oakland	66	89
Texas	62	94
Minnesota	58	97

National League Eastern Division		
	W	L
St. Louis	90	66
Philadelphia	84	72
Montreal	83	73
Pittsburgh	81	75
Chicago	69	87
New York	62	93

Western Division		
	W	L
Los Angeles	85	70
Atlanta	84	71
San Francisco	84	71
San Diego	74	77
Houston	69	82
Cincinnati	57	98

Gloom over NFL as strike intact

NEW YORK (AP). — National Football League commissioner Pete Rozelle said yesterday a settlement in the players' strike would have to come by Thursday if the bedeviled season is to resume next weekend.

Rozelle, who like a players' spokesman was not optimistic about ending the strike, said the league would be able to make up only one lost weekend, although no plan has been set up by the NFL.

"We really don't have a plan because we don't know how long it will last," he said. "One week — easy. We can make that up in the week before the Super Bowl game. Anything more than one week, we've got a problem. Anything you want to do presents negatives — either competitive negatives or weather negatives."

Rozelle said he was keeping close to the negotiations, which resumed on Sunday and admitted the League didn't consider a possible strike when negotiating its lucrative \$2.1b. five-year television contract with the three networks earlier this year. It is over the contracts and their desire to get a slice of the huge receipts that the players are striking.

Greek delight

CANEA, Crete (AP). — Sophia Sakorafa of Greece set a world record in the women's javelin with a throw of 74.20 metres at the Greek National track and field championships here.

Sakorafa's throw beat the former world record of 72.40m. held by Tina Liljak of Finland. Earlier this month, the 27-year-old physical education teacher from Athens won a bronze medal at the European Games.

"I'm delighted, but I was expecting it," she said afterwards. "I was throwing around 70 metres while I was warming up."

It was only Greece's second-ever world athletics record, and the first set by a woman.

READERS' LETTERS

AN OLD MAN'S DREAM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Once more, it seems, Israel's future is to be decided by an appeal to ideologies rather than by reasoned argument. For, surely, Mr. Begin's true objection to the recently formulated Reagan plan must be that it is not in accord with his own out-moded idea of Israel as *Eretz Yisrael Hashlema*.

If there is one issue which must be put to the country at this crucial stage in our history, it is the one raised by the Reagan plan. Are the people of this country willing to take the necessary risks involved in negotiating a peace agreement with Jordan with a view to resolving the problem of the Palestinian refugees (which, despite Mr. Begin's patronizing denials, does exist and lies at the very heart of the matter)? Or are we to turn away from the humanitarian voice within us (for

yes, we do have a national conscience, as witnessed by the objection to the progress of the recent war) and insist on Israel remaining an 'island' within the Middle East?

Talk of elections in July or November of next year is only an attempt to postpone a most important question facing the Israeli electorate to a time which is more favourable to Mr. Begin. But what we have before us now is no party matter. This is an issue affecting the future of every family in Israel. As the father of two sons, I should like to be able to tell my children that I did something towards ensuring a peaceful existence in this part of the world. I do not want to hand over a battleground just because an old man does not want to relinquish his dream.

ISAAC BENABU
Jerusalem.

QUESTIONABLE POLICY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The Yom Kippur war radically altered my outlook as it completely changed my life as a Jew living in the Galut. In the war's aftermath, I shed my pacifist baggage, certain, as I am to this day, that pacifism amounts to suicide for the Jewish people and nation. In December 1973, I came on aliya.

As a resident of the Upper Galilee, I have witnessed the shelling of my home, experienced the life in bomb shelters with my family and friends, and shared in the grief of a friend following the murder of his brother and his family at the hands of the PLO.

Operation Peace for the Galilee lifted a heavy cloud of uncertainty from the skies of Upper Galilee. Without a doubt, the operation's character was defensive — during the first several weeks of fighting.

But where do we stand today? Shall we follow every enemy of Israel to every lair in every country in the Middle East with all of the IDF? Shall we commit ourselves, fathers, brothers, sons and friends, to unending battles? Can our iron hand achieve more than a justified insistence upon a secure border with our northern neighbours, including a security zone? Will military might solve a complex political problem (viz. Lebanon) for the first time in the history of mankind? Will the IDF be committed to battle in Tripoli? Algiers?

The number of questions being raised at this time in our country are testimony to the questionable wisdom of our policy in Lebanon today.

The near hysteria of those responsible for our policies and their execution as a response to any and all criticism attests to the negative changes which have been wrought in our internal political climate and nature as a democratic state.

Our military strength is not merely a matter of superior training and equipment. We have always had the moral upper hand in any battle undertaken by our Israel Defence Forces against those threatening our safety and existence. That was our secret weapon. Today's political leadership is dangerously compromising that weapon's effectiveness.

DAVID SCHILLER
Kibbutz Yiftah.

RAV GABAI

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — On August 23, one of the great Sephardic rabbis of our time, the honourable Rav Gabai of Ma'alot, passed away suddenly at age 69. The great Rav Gabai was one of the founders of Ma'alot and became Chief Rabbi of this courageous northern border settlement town — including a large district in Northern Galilee.

A Rabbinical scholar, Rav Gabai was ordained in Morocco, studied in Paris and led a large aliya to Israel from Morocco during the early years of the State of Israel. He was respected and loved not only by Jews, but also by the Arabs of Ma'alot-Tarshiha, one of the only cooperative Arab-Jewish town councils in Israel.

YEHUDI WEININGER
Berkeley, California.

CRY MY BELOVED PEOPLE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — When Israel crossed the Lebanese border in June, there were those who wondered if it was wise or necessary. When Israel exceeded the 40 kilometre limit, in contradiction to its own promises, there were those who worried about Israel's honesty and good intentions. When Israel encircled Beirut and blasted innocent civilians from land and sea, there were those who despaired and feared for Israel's Jewish soul.

When, on New Year 5743, on the first day of Rosh Hashana, news came of the mass murder of helpless men, women and children living in dense camps, of evidence that they had been cold-bloodedly lined up and shot, that there were photographs of piled bodies, a nightmare picture began to float into consciousness at last, like a

tragic remembrance.

The once helpless and tormented Jewish people, hounded and murdered for centuries and ignored by an unfeeling world, have now, through the acts and omissions of their government and armed forces, completed a terrible historical circle. The idealists and homeless refugees who came here to build a society based on the dignity of human life are now witnesses to the very crimes which they journeyed here to escape.

Israel has ceased to be the home of an embattled, heroic and noble people. What Israel will become, what further agonies will be visited upon the Jewish people in answer to their disregard or contempt for human values, only the future will tell.

ALAN SILVERMAN
Jerusalem.

U.S. Stock Exchange

NEW YORK. — Stocks turned mixed in the final minutes of trading yesterday, but activity stayed at semi-holiday levels.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average inched up more than a point to close above 920 after showing a four-to-five point loss for most of the day.

Declining issues were still ahead of advances at the bell, but the

margin narrowed to fewer than 50 issues.

Volume dropped to some 45 million shares from Friday's 54.6 million.

Commentary courtesy Wise Friedman Inc. Members New York Stock Exchange Stock & Commodity Portfolio Management 100 Wall St., NY, NY Tel. 607-422-6795

D.J. Avg.	Transport	Utilities	Volume
920.89	+1.38	920.89	+1.38
920.89	+1.38	920.89	+1.38
920.89	+1.38	920.89	+1.38

Owens	Procter Gam.	Sears	Sid On Co.	Tenaxo	Union Carb.	US Steel	Westinghouse	Woolworth	Gold Fix	Homebase M.	ISRAELI SHARES IN NY
25%	99%	24%	29	48%	48%	18%	18%	24%	413.75	17.245	12%
25%	99%	24%	29	48%	48%	18%	18%	24%	413.75	17.245	12%

Steady Finn

LAS VEGAS, Nevada (AP). — Koke Rosberg has, until this season, been one of those racing drivers who people said had the potential to be great, with the right ride. The 33-year-old Finn had never finished higher than third in any Formula One race going into the 1982 season. Now he is the World Champion.

While another driver of great potential — Michele Alboreto of Italy — was driving a Tyrrell racer to his first Grand Prix victory in Sunday's Caesar's Palace Grand Prix, Rosberg was finishing up his most successful season by running steadily into fifth place to wrap up his first world title.

"Koke always was a fine driver," said Frank Williams, the owner of the Williams team and the man who gave Rosberg his first chance to drive a good car. "He always drove fast, but in bad cars."

Rosberg won one of 16 races this year — the Swiss grand prix — but the two points he got for his fifth-place finish at Vegas gave him 44 for the season. Northern Ireland's John Watson, who knew he had to win the race to have any chance of beating Rosberg for the championship, drove his McLaren from a ninth-placed start to second position. But he was more than 27 seconds behind the surprising Alboreto and wound up tied with Ferrari driver Didier Pironi of France for second place in the standings.

McEnroe fires past Connors

SAN FRANCISCO (Reuter). — John McEnroe, who has had a disappointing summer, showed that he is anything but a spent force in world tennis when he crushed U.S. Open and Wimbledon champion Jimmy Connors 6-1, 6-3, here to win a \$250,000 Grand Prix tournament.

Dominating the match from the baseline throughout, McEnroe said: "I felt that I can play far better in the backcourt with him, and I did."

Connors lost the fifth game of the first set on two forced errors and said after the 75-minute one-sided match: "McEnroe played too well for me." Connors lost his serve five times, twice at love.

McEnroe's performance wasn't very inspired but it didn't have to be, since Connors was so off his best. It was only the second Grand Prix triumph this year for the world's third-ranked player. The victory was McEnroe's ninth win in his 20 meetings with Connors since 1977. Connors won the last two encounters, played in June at the Queens tournament and Wimbledon.

Elsewhere in California, at Inglewood, Czech Ivan Lendl fired 15 aces to drive past South African Kevin Curren 7-6, 7-5, 6-1 and capture a \$300,000 WCT tournament. It was the 12th major title victory this year for Lendl, who pushed his 1982 earnings to more than \$1.3m, with the first-place cheque for \$100,000.

Current, who teamed with Steve Denton to win the U.S. Open doubles crown earlier this month, gave Lendl all he could handle in the



McEnroe plays superb touch tennis to show hard-hitting Jimmy Connors in San Francisco who is the real master. (UPI)

opening set. But the Czech, who had two crucial line calls ruled in his favour, won the tiebreaker 7-5 to take the first set. Curren kept pace with Lendl, scoring 10 aces in the match. But Lendl broke him in the final game of the second set to take a 2-0 lead and then raced home.

Mat's Winder was the \$75,000 Grand Prix event in Geneva, beating Czech Tomas Sand in the final. The Swede won 7-5, 6-4, 6-4. The tournament in Bordeaux went to Hans Gildemeister of Chile who beat Pablo Arraya of Peru 7-5, 6-1.

England look at idea of super-league

LONDON (UPI). — English soccer is all set for its biggest shake-up in years with the introduction of a "Super-League".

The Football League's management committee has decided to recommend a restructuring of the League with priority given to a

slimmed-down First Division. Plummeting gates means the committee wants something positive done before the start of next season. The move to streamline the league is expected to be fiercely opposed by the smaller clubs.

TOGETHER WE STOOD AND STAND BEHIND ISRAEL

We emphasize the declaration of Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador at the U.N. on 24th September 1982:

"My country too is morally responsible for the massacre in Beirut. The U.S., France, Italy, Lebanon

and Israel are involved in this tragedy" We, the undersigned, have confidence in the people and government of Israel to see full justice is done.

Chief Rabbinate of the Netherlands
Rabbinate of Amsterdam
Chief Rabbinate of Utrecht
Rabbinate of the Portuguese Community
Sephardi Community in the Netherlands
Rabbinate and Board of the Hague Community (Orthodox)
B'nai Brith Lodge Hillel
Mizrachi Movement Netherlands
General Zionist Movement Netherlands
Brith Herut Hatzohar Netherlands
Bnei Akiva Youth Movement
Chief Rabbi M. Just, Rabbi A. Ralbag, Rabbi L.V.D. Kamp, Chief Rabbi E. Berlinger, Rabbi S.J. Jacobs, Rabbi B. Drukarch, Dr. M. Wikler, Dr. J.Z. Baruch, R.E. Fredberg, H.V. Gelder, Ph. Krant (Executive NZB), Dr. S. Herzberg, B. Herzberger, J. Elburg, A. Piotrowski, Dr. A. Baumgarten, L. Wrona, L. Pinto, Dr. M. Velleman, A. Stier, Tswi J. Herschel.

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	Selling	Buying
US\$	28.1837	28.8983
DM	11.6016	11.4872
Swiss FR	13.5000	13.3870
Sterling	49.8166	49.3259
French FR	4.1043	4.0638
Dutch G	10.5968	10.4925
Australian \$	16.5528	16.3997
Swedish KR	4.6571	4.6112
Danish KR	3.3089	3.2783
Norwegian KR	4.1940	4.1526
Finnish MK	6.0384	5.9789
Canadian \$	23.6756	23.4424
Rand	25.3402	25.0906
Australian \$	27.8561	27.5918
Belgian Con (10)	5.9944	5.9363
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Dutch G	2.7625/40	per
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Sw.Fr/£	2.1480/03	2.1188/210	2.0810/40

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FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES FOR 28.9.82

FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES			FOR 28.2.2025			
COUNTRY	CURRENCY		CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS	BANKNOTES		
			PURCHASE, SALE	PURCHASE, SALE		
U.S.A.	DOLLAR	1	28.8948	29.1832	28.7900	29.0000
GREAT BRITAIN	STERLING	1	49.3896	49.3838	48.8700	50.3700
GERMANY	MARK	1	11.4967	11.6021	11.3700	11.7200
FRANCE	FRANC	1	4.0651	4.1009	3.8800	4.1500
HOLLAND	GULDEN	1	10.4881	10.5835	10.3800	10.7000
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	1	13.3566	13.4928	13.2200	13.6300
SWEDEN	KRONA	1	4.6179	4.6644	4.5100	4.7100
NORWAY	KRONA	1	4.2611	4.2029	4.0700	4.3500
DENMARK	KRONA	1	3.2944	3.3174	3.1000	3.3800
FINLAND	MARK	1	5.8829	6.0431	5.8400	6.1000
CANADA	DOLLAR	1	23.4402	23.7676	23.0200	23.9100
AUSTRALIA	DOLLAR	1	27.5645	27.8617	26.3200	28.4000
SOUTH AFRICA	RAND	1	25.0976	25.3497	19.7000	26.6800
BELGIUM	FRANC	10	5.3381	5.3777	—	—
AUSTRIA	SCHILLING	10	16.3617	16.421	16.1900	16.9900
ITALY	LIRE	1000	20.4275	20.118	19.3100	20.8400
JAPAN	YEN	1000	105.6270	108.7187	107.5200	110.8300

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Ministers to the rescue?

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S reluctance to appoint a judicial inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the Beirut massacre has done more than arouse widespread criticism in the nation. It has also deflected attention from the complete collapse of the government's purposes in Lebanon and the utter ruin of Israel's international position.

Never in Israel's history have the country's political fortunes been in such desperate straits.

Three goals animated the Cabinet in its extended war in Lebanon: to destroy the infrastructure of the PLO, to establish a friendly Christian-led government in Beirut, and to expel the Syrian Army. Making the Galilee safe from terrorist attack was either the cover for these larger aims, or the trap set by the Defence Minister, with or without Mr. Begin, for the rest of the more glib ministers.

The three goals were interrelated. Destruction of the PLO's base would alter Lebanon's political balance, pave the way for the ascendency of Bashir Jemayel, which in turn would lead to the expulsion of the Syrians. And Israel would retire back to its border with a peace agreement, or at least acceptable security arrangements with the new Lebanon. Moreover, the military defeat of the PLO would also deal it a mortal political blow, allowing Israel a freer hand to achieve its ends on the West Bank.

Instead of that Yasser Arafat has become a world hero and the plight of the Palestinians, now symbolized by their desolation in Lebanon, has eclipsed Israel's case.

In Lebanon itself, Israel's hopes apparently hung on the fragile thread of one man, Bashir Jemayel. Now Israel confronts his successor who blames Zahal directly for the massacre in Beirut, is entirely uninterested in friendly relations and will achieve a Syrian withdrawal at Israel's expense.

In these circumstances it remains doubtful whether Israel will even be able to retain the narrow buffer zone of security in the north it enjoyed before the war, let alone the enlarged 45-kilometre corridor.

This collapse of Israel's aims in Lebanon has unleashed in torrential force world condemnation of Israel's resort to force, and the damage and death inflicted, to achieve them. The massacre in Beirut released the torrent, though Israeli troops were not the perpetrators, because Israel was seen to have exceeded by far the just limits of its power and wrought havoc. That torrent sadly included a good measure of anti-Semitism, stirred from latency by the spectre of misused military might.

The result is universal denunciation. The justice of Israel's cause has been obscured, if not consumed, by the overweening presumption of its means.

The consequence is a devastated diplomacy. Israel's missions abroad are beleaguered islands in a hostile sea — even in friendly countries. Israel today can have no foreign policy; it can only have a rescue policy.

But precisely because Israel's actions and aims are identified directly with Mr. Begin and Mr. Sharon, they must be the focus of the rescue operation. Their removal from office is the precondition for rescuing Israel from its present distress.

Clearly, they will not or cannot understand this. But their Cabinet colleagues, and certainly those in the other coalition parties do. The fate of the nation therefore hangs upon these ministers who never perceived themselves, or were perceived by others, as destined to bear responsibilities of such moment.

But this is where Israel stands today — its fate in the hands of Hammer, Ehrlich, Levy, Burg, Patt. Will they transcend the calculations of party, faction and office? Will they rise to the desperate occasion?

POSTSCRIPTS

AND THEY'RE also well for relieving lost keys... Chinese doctors have a new cure for high blood pressure, nervous exhaustion, insomnia and dizziness — magnetic shoes.

The *China Daily* said recently that 340 patients throughout the country had volunteered in the testing of the new shoes made in Peking.

About 300 patients reported they "got better in various degrees," with 85 of them showing "very impressive" recoveries, the newspaper said.

The shoes look like the ordinary cloth ones common in China, but the soles have either two or four permanent built-in magnetic discs, the paper said.

"These magnetic discs touch specific points on the soles," Yuan Zhonghua, head of a national research group, told the newspaper.

"There are points all over our bodies that are sensitive to electricity," he said, and "at the sole of the foot, there are a few such points."

"When stimulated by a magnetic field like that of the discs, they act on the nervous system, relieving pain and soothing the body."

HEVER CASTLE, one of the Astor family's stately homes (the other, Cliveden, gave its name to the notorious pro-Nazi group within the pre-war British establishment), has been put on the market. Valued at £10.5 m., with its art collection expected to fetch at least another £3m., it might be a suitable pied a terre for some Israeli who travels abroad every summer. The 3,145 acre estate includes 114 cottages, seven farms and a pub called the Henry VIII. The castle itself has a moat, a drawbridge and a portcullis in working order and features, beside the room where Ann Boleyn slept, a secret room and a torture chamber.

JOB OPENING — for galley slaves. London banker Frank Welsh has announced plans to build a full-size trirreme, the oared fighting vessel of antiquity, and to send it to sea to discover how it worked.

Greek triremes commanded by Themistocles of Athens defeated the Persian navy under Xerxes at Salamis in 480 BCE, one of the decisive battles of the world.

The cost of building the 35-metre long vessel is estimated at \$250,000 and Welsh is confident the money will be found and the project completed by spring 1984.

Welsh hopes to recruit and train the 170 oarsmen for the vessel in Greece and build the vessel in a Greek yard, or somewhere else in the Mediterranean where there is long experience of constructing wooden ships. The Greek island of Samos, Syracuse in Sicily and Marseille in France are possible sites, he said.

CAPITALIZING on revolution? Revolting. The only civilian sentenced for his role in Spain's failed coup has registered the date of the military rebellion as a commercial trademark in hopes of launching a souvenir business to raise money for extreme right-wing causes, a Spanish newspaper reports.

The daily newspaper *Diario 16* reported that Juan Garcia Corres had requested and been awarded the rights to use the shorthand date "23-F" on T-shirts, jewelry, books, bumper stickers, etc.

The coup attempt took place February 23, 1981 and the aborted uprising is generally referred to in the Spanish media as 23-F.

Garcia Corres, who is still serving his two-year sentence for his role in the coup, plans to market the 23-F items to raise money for publications and organizations of Spain's extreme right wing, the newspaper said.

SHORTLY before his resignation, 19 years ago, Ben Gurion published a scathing letter warning the people of catastrophe if Menachem Begin should ever come to power. "Should Begin ever get control of the government his adventurist policies will ruin the state," Ben-Gurion was a man of strong convictions and great vision.

The world according to Menachem Begin is populated with terrorist demons, jewbaaters, treacherous friends, schemers of new Holocausts, all conspiring against the Jewish People. Its only salvation is to smite the enemy in his multifarious disguises and take possession of the Land of Israel in its totality.

Haunted by the spectres of the past, blind to the realities of the present and exhilarated by the glories of the future, Begin steers the ship of state as if it were a rollercoaster, up to the heights of ecstasy and down to the depths of despair. Walking steady in the plain is an exercise he has never mastered.

He trusts in the persuasiveness of force, not naked but well dressed in a mantle of self-righteous morality. He believes in the exhortation of his movement's anthem that "Judea will be redeemed by blood and fire" and practices it with untiring zest.

The use of force is accompanied by the abuse of speech. Violence and falsehood march hand in hand. New words of brutality have become commonplace in our prose, profaning the language of the People of the Book and perverting their minds. We "liquidate" the enemy. We "flush out" the remnants, we "expel" the defeated — a sinister hint at things to come, when *unsiedlung* by force will replace autonomy by consent.

Some 150 years ago Carl von Clausewitz wrote that war is the continuation of politics by other means and befogged many a military and political mind ever since. For his thinking about the interrelation between war and policy was by far clearer than the militarists who invoke him. "The subordination of the political viewpoint to the military concept," he wrote, "is senseless. War can never be separated from political intercourse, and when this occurs the whole thing becomes senseless and purposeless."

No doubt, the initiators of the war in Lebanon pursued, beyond their declared objective of securing

SAVING ISRAEL

By GIDEON RAFAEL

Israel's northern borders, far more ambitious and basically harebrained political aims. Apprehensive not only of world opinion but also of the sound judgement of the people of Israel, Begin and Sharon concealed their wider designs from the public and the politicians. Invoking military necessities they dragged a befuddled and reluctant cabinet from one stage to another in the execution of their master plan, an amalgam of megalomaniac misjudgement and abysmal ignorance. Its principal goal was to break the military and political backbone of the PLO in preparation for the eventual take-over of the administered territories of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

What was labelled as "Operation Peace for Galilee" was in reality the war for the annexation of the West Bank.

The headquarters of the PLO in Beirut was the center of resistance to this design. Moreover it was the commandpost for the terrorist attacks against Israel and Jews abroad and for the subjugation of Lebanon's sovereignty and freedom. It was the meeting ground for the international terrorist underworld and the bastion of the Palestinian denial of Israel's right of existence and action to expedite the demise of the Jewish State.

Begin and Sharon assumed that by driving out the evil spirit, destroying Arafat and his men in their bunkers and obliterating their operational bases — the refugee camps — they could also exorcise the spectre of the "legitimate Palestinian rights" recognized by Begin himself in the Camp David Agreements.

Yet the more military pressure they applied, the more they harmed their ultimate goal and strengthened the PLO's political position. Arafat, militarily defeated in Lebanon, did not depart from Beirut, as expected, into the political wilderness, but scaled the heights of Arab summits, warmed himself in the embraces of kings and presidents, bathed in the

radiance of Papal nimbus and bowed to the ovations of spineless parliamentarians, the majority of them dispatched by institutions having nothing but the name in common with freely-elected parliaments.

Emerging unscathed from Beirut, Arafat transformed his terrorist notoriety into political respectability. He made, in one week, more progress in his fight for international recognition than in the 20 years he had been trying to tear down the wall of ostracism. Where Arafat's bombs and bluster failed, Sharon's bombardments succeeded. Trying to demolish him, he rehabilitated him.

But the war aims of Begin-Sharon were even more grandiose. They thought that Israel was chosen to establish a New Order in Lebanon. Mind the ominous term. It was the slogan of the same conquering forces in Europe and Asia that brought the greatest catastrophe upon the Jewish People and untold suffering to mankind. Mr. Sharon, never a man of modest aspirations, felt that not only Lebanon but the whole Middle East should undergo a plastic operation and become a shining model of the new order.

Backed up by a set of psychodrama maps he expounded his insane plans to professional audiences in Tel Aviv and to flabbergasted officials in Washington. They contented themselves with politely shaking their heads and cautiously wagging a little warning finger, a gesture interpreted by Sharon as a mark of admiration and acclaim. Innocents abroad as our good American friends are, they apparently relied on the sense of responsibility and proportion of the Government of Israel and ultimately on the common sense of its people to stop this mad rush. They were mistaken. They over-estimated the courage of conviction of the members of the cabinet, the power of resistance of the Knesset and the alertness of the public.

Can we honestly claim that we

did not know what Begin, Sharon and Rafel were scheming? Innumerable times Begin boasted that he would establish law and order in Lebanon. Did not the Chief of Staff inform the public in his famous interview, published in *Yedioth Aharonot* on May 14, that he cannot hide his troops concentrated along the Lebanese border. Nor would he hide his intentions. "Since I spent billions of dollars," he explained, "building an extraordinary military machine, I can and must use it... I may be in Beirut tomorrow."

Thus spoke Rafel and thus he acted a few weeks later. And as a great scholar of European history he added: "We are going to behave like Europeans. Somebody steps on our toes, we chop off his head. That's how the Europeans have always behaved." Apparently our learned chief of staff knew the Europeans better than his Phalaris allies.

Didn't we and others warn constantly in these columns and other publications against the disaster towards which the "Government of Stunt and Stealth" was leading Israel? Didn't we caution against looking at the Middle East through the gun-sight of Major Haddad? Who took Mr. Begin seriously when at the time of the Syrian siege and bombardment of Zahle he postured as the protector of the Christians from a looming Moslem Holocaust?

Wasn't Aluf-Mihale El Giva right when he warned against the occupation of West Beirut, refusing to be responsible for the horrors he foresaw? Those who were blind or reckless should bow their head in shame before him. The Chief of Staff should reinstate him with full honours in a high military command. We all are guilty. We saw the disaster come and failed to strain the last ounce of our strength to avert it.

It would be a terrible slander to accuse even one single Israeli soldier of having actively taken part in the horrible deed. It would be vile

defamation to allege that the Christian militias went on their murderous rampage upon Israeli orders. But it would be a gross travesty of justice to prevent an impartial judicial inquiry into the facts and responsibilities for the heinous crime. Before Mr. Begin wound his hackneyed battlety: Blood Libel, and wasted government funds for an advertising campaign, it was his moral and official duty to enable Israel to cleanse itself from false allegations and understandable suspicions of complicity or any other form of wrongdoing.

Suppression of an impartial investigation of the Rosh Hashana massacre will not only tarnish Begin's record, but leave an indelible stain on Israel's reputation. With his agility at outwitting and outwitting and with the help of those of his colleagues whose conscience rests not in their souls but in their cabinet seats, Begin will try to exorcise himself from the dilemma.

This time it won't work, because the people of Israel are not only a stiff-necked but a fundamentally decent people. They will not tolerate a government that has morally, politically and economically bankrupted the country.

It will not suffer a government which has estranged us from our fellow Jews abroad, whose consciences are as tormented as ours. It will not put up with a government which has alienated our best friends in the world and which has ruined our foreign relations.

It will not allow Mr. Begin and his men of evil council to plunge Israel into new disastrous adventures, perhaps against the Syrians in Lebanon or the Jordanians in their Hashemite Kingdom of Palestine; or God knows whom.

The people of Israel have the strength to avert the doom predicted by Ben-Gurion, because their inherent sanity, moral integrity and human decency are stronger than the aberrations of our present leaders.

On Saturday night, they manifested in a protest of unprecedented magnitude and dignity that they abhor the New Order of Begin-Sharon, and uphold their faith in the old values which shaped the nation of Israel.

The writer is a former Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, Ambassador to the UN and Great Britain.

READERS' LETTERS

RESPONSIBILITY

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir. — Anyone who accuses the Jews of having killed Jesus Christ is told, quite rightly, that the makers and enforcers of law in Israel at that time — the Romans — bear the responsibility for his death.

Similarly, the German people, who elected Hitler to power and stood by as their fellow human beings were herded to death camps

bear responsibility for the Holocaust.

Let Mr. Begin and his associates not tell us that Israel, the dominant force in Lebanon at this time, does not bear a responsibility for the heinous crime that has taken place in Lebanon, under the noses of armed Israeli soldiers.

EDMUND MANDER
Kibbutz Kfar Ruppin.

VOLUNTEERS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir. — As a non-Jew who has volunteered and is working to aid Israel, I would like to bring to your attention the following facts omitted from your news report "Volunteers to stay" (September 3):

1. Not all of the volunteers who arrived in Israel are aiding Golan Heights settlements. There are approximately 40 volunteers located here at a military depot in Galilee, aiding reservists maintain Israel's military readiness.

2. Not all of the volunteers in Israel now are Jews. There are four non-Jews amongst the ranks of the volunteers here in Galilee and probably more in the Golan Heights.

3. Not all of the volunteers are young, as reported in your story. There are, or were, volunteers in their 40's and 50's in the Golan Heights and in Galilee.

GERALD REGAN
Galilee.

RAV GOLDING

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir. — I have been privileged to be a friend of the Golding family in Yeroham for two years. Knowing them to be such gentle, caring people, I was taken aback by Dr. Claude Duvernoy's letter of September 10, particularly his suggestion that Rav Shmuel renounce his anti-missionary work in order to combat "Jewish misery" instead.

Rav Shmuel and his family are already doing more than can reasonably be expected to relieve all forms of suffering. Their home, already crowded, is always open to strangers in any kind of distress. They are dedicated to the complete physical and spiritual wellbeing of their fellow human beings.

YAPHA SCHOCHET
Yeroham.

BRAZILIAN JEWS SUPPORT NAVON

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir. — We share President Navon's horror at the terrible tragedy in Beirut. We support his call for the establishment of an official committee of enquiry, which is consistent with the ethical principles of the People and the State of Israel.

ZVI GHIVELDER, President
The Zionist Organization of Brazil
Rio de Janeiro.

More Readers' Letters appear on page 7.

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BIASED REPORTING

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir. — As a fundamental Christian and an American citizen, I am ashamed of the way the western press has been treating Israel during Operation Peace for Galilee. I am also amazed at how fast the press forgets that, when the PLO came calling on Galilee, they only seemed to bomb schools, commuter buses and supermarkets. I also could not

help but notice the anti-Israel bias throughout the war.

This bias became more apparent as I watched TV news and then later listened to Kol Israel report the war. If it were not for *The Jerusalem Post* and Kol Israel, I would have had no idea as to how poorly the war was being covered.

JON D. ANDREASEN
Newton, New Jersey.

EL AL SABBATH FLIGHTS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir. — For observant Jews here, whether or not El Al flies on the Sabbath goes far beyond the fulfillment of a government coalition agreement.

Cessation of Sabbath flights by our national airline would be a giant step forward in proclaiming our

recognition of the supremacy of the laws of the Sabbath and our adherence to the Divine will. It would have been a beautiful and positive way to begin the New Year and would have brought blessing upon Eretz Yisrael and Am Yisrael.

H. PETASHNICK
Jerusalem.

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